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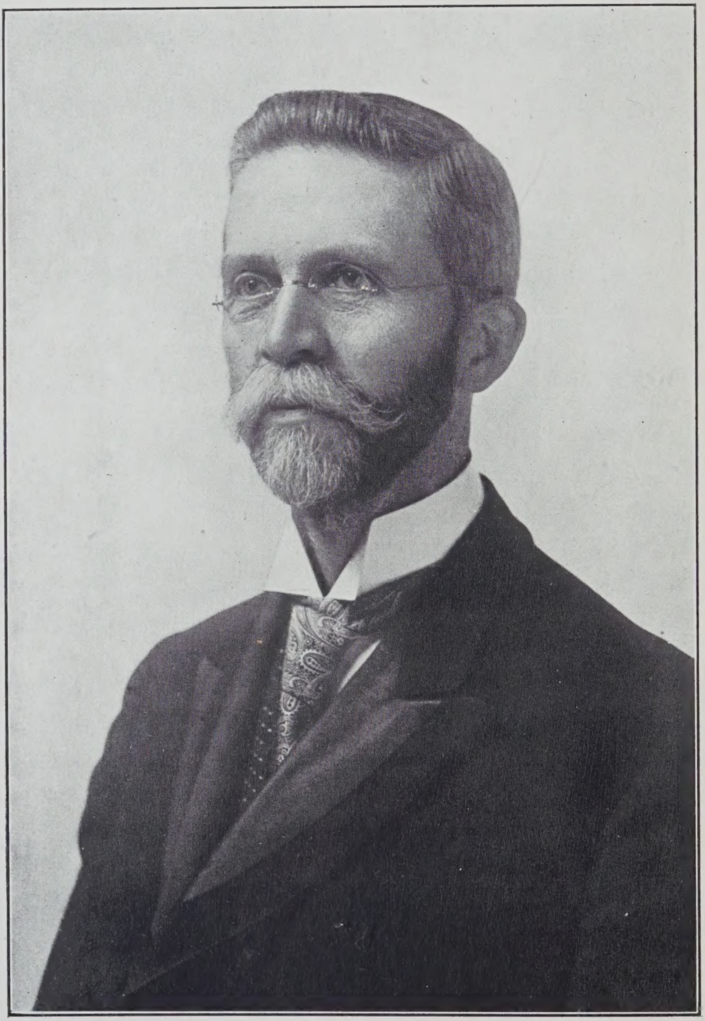

Dr. Elias Clouse.
President of the Empire Club of Canada 1909-10.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE EMPIRE
CLUB OF CANADA DURING ITS SESSION
OF 1909-1910

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

SEVENTH YEAR OF ISSUE.

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These Addresses were reported by
Mr. W. Harry Edwards of Toronto.

PREFACE.

From time to time in these volumes introductory references have been made to the current work of the Empire Club during the year under consideration. Latterly a complete list of the Executive Committee of each year has been published. It will be of interest, in presenting this seventh volume to the members, to summarize the record of the Club since it was started in the autumn of 1903.

Originating in a desire to hear the freest discussion of all shades of opinion, of varied ideals or policies affecting Canada's development and relations with the Empire—apart from the academic vagary of separation—the members of the Club in the seven years of its existence have heard 193 speakers, of whom 28 were British or from British Dominions other than Canada, 155 were Canadians and 10 United States or Foreign. The subjects discussed numbered 103 of an Imperial character, 47 of a purely Canadian nature, 25 of a United States or Foreign character and 18 of a miscellaneous kind. The Honorary President of the Club since its inauguration has been Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal and, in 1909, His Lordship indicated his sympathy with the Club's motto of "Canada and the interests of a United Empire," and expressed his approval of this annual volume, by contributing $1,000 for the continued publication of the *Speeches*. The Honorary members of the Club are the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who was elected in 1904, and Sir George W. Ross, elected in 1910. The Presidents and Secretaries have been as follows:

Session	President.	Secretary.
1903-4	Lieut.-Colonel James Mason	J. F. M. Stewart.
1904-5	Lieut.-Colonel James Mason	J. F. M. Stewart.
1905-6	Prof. William Clark	W. J. Green.
1906-7	James P. Murray	E. V. Portway.
1907-8	J. F. M. Stewart	Dr. D. J. Goggin.
1908-9	Dr. D. J. Goggin	J. F. M. Stewart.
1909-10	Dr. Elias Clouse	Rev. Dr. C. S. Eby.

The Executive chosen for this latter year included Dr. Clouse as President, and Dr. Eby, Hon. Secretary, with J. M. Clark, K.C., as 1st Vice-President, J. Castell Hopkins as 2nd Vice-President, and F. B. Fetherstonhaugh as 3rd Vice-President, with an Executive Committee composed of the Past Presidents and J. R. Roaf, G. Harold Muntz, E. K. Richardson, M.D., W. A. Sherwood, J. M. Foster, R. S. Neville, K.C., Hugh Blain, P. C. Larkin, J. F. Wildman and C. Frank Beer. The 1910-11 Executive was elected on May 23rd, 1910, as follows:—

President	J. Castell Hopkins.
1st. Vice-President	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh.
2nd Vice-President	G. Frank Beer.
3rd Vice-President	J. M. Foster.
Hon. Organizing Secretary	R. S. Neville, K.C.
Hon. Treasurer	Alex. Fraser.
Hon. Secretary	Edward B. Merrill

Executive Committee: James R. Roaf, G. Harold Muntz, E. K. Richardson, J. F. Wildman, W. O. McTaggart, George H. Smith, M. B. Logan, H. A. Sherrard, Rev. Canon A. W. Macnab, and the Past Presidents. Mr. J. M. Clark was nominated for the Presidency, but for personal reasons felt it necessary to decline the honour.

Very few Resolutions during these years were passed by the Club. One of the few thanked Mr. Henry C. Osborne for a contribution of $100 toward the funds of the organization; another urged every Province in Canada to follow the example of Manitoba in flying the Union Jack over the Public Schools; another suggested the restoration by the Governments concerned, wherever practicable, of the original Indian names to Canadian Lakes, Rivers and Territories; still another expressed appreciation of Lord Strathcona's gift of $1,000; and one was also passed indicating the Club's appreciation of Captain Bernier's important discoveries and official annexation of new territory in the far North of Canada.

The Editor.

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PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt for the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so elected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifiteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

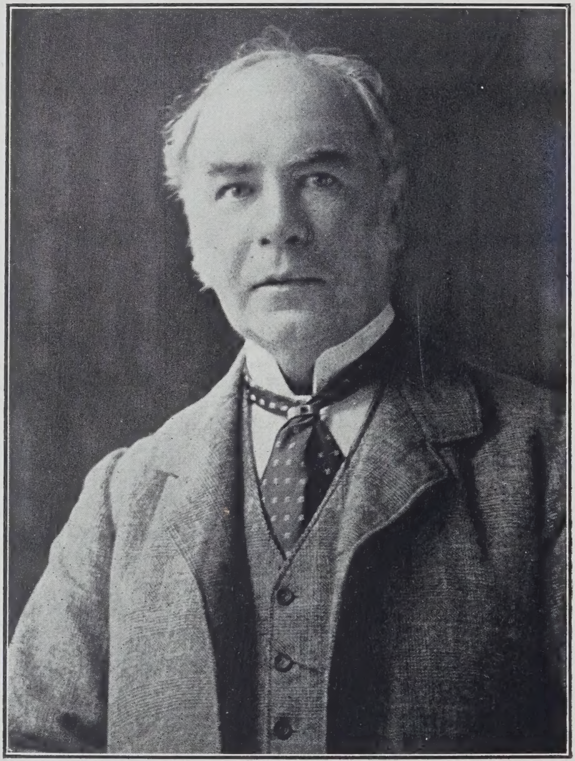
AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

''The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hundred, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject.''

CLAUSE VI.

''That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee.''



Sir Robert W. Perks, Bart.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

MODERN BRITISH LIBERALISM AND THE EMPIRE.

An Address by SIR ROBERT W. PERKS, Bart., M.P., of London, England, before the Empire Club of Canada on May 27, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I sincerely thank you for having allowed me to say a few words to this distinguished organization concerning the attitude of Modern Liberalism towards some of the problems which confront you and which face us. Sir, I am not, and I sometimes feel thankful to God that I am not, an official member of that political party. I am sure my friend Mr. Foster* must sympathize to some extent with this feeling. I know it is not confined to Canadian politicians. My friend Lord Rosebery once told me that the best day of his life was the day when it was announced that his party had been defeated in the House of Commons on a snap vote, and that he would cease to be Prime Minister of our country.

Gentlemen, I do not belong to what is called the "Little England" section of the Liberal Party at home, and I may say, further, that whenever the policy of that small but respectable section of our party has been submitted to the test of our electors, it has invariably been repudiated by the rank and file of our party. I myself have always belonged to what is called the "Liberal Imperialist" wing of the party, led by Lord Rosebery in years gone by and also to-day; supported by the Prime Minister of our land, Mr. Asquith, by Sir Edward Grey, by Mr. Haldane, Minister of War, and by another Cabinet

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*Hon. G. E. Foster, one-time Minister of Finance, who was present.

Minister, Lord Wolverhampton; all four of the latter being Vice-Presidents of the Liberal League which was founded for the express purpose of showing the country that the views propounded by a section of the Liberal Party during the progress of the Boer War were not those of a considerable section of Liberals in our land. That organization is still maintained in its full vigour and, should the occasion ever arise when the views which were put before our country by the late Prime Minister and by one or two members of our Liberal Cabinet to-day, be again submitted as a part of our foreign and colonial policy, I feel sure that this Liberal League, the Imperialistic section of the Liberal Party, will be able to impress their opinions upon the electors as successfully as they have done before.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that in saying what I have to say I shall not be too rigidly criticized, because I speak to-day to what I know is a non-political organization, as a very pronounced politician and, therefore, those of you who do not agree with me will perhaps forgive and overlook my ignorance of Canadian political issues. Sir, the first thing that I wish to say is that England is not a decadent and dying nation. You take up sometimes a newspaper and you see some statistician producing what is the easiest thing in the world to produce; namely, sheets of statistics to prove that our country is living on its capital and that we are daily getting poorer. You take up some medical journal, or some neurotic, humanitarian journal (because there are some of that description) and they tell you that the race is deteriorating, that its physique is going, that its people are drunken, that its cities are densely packed with a degraded population, and that the days of England's physical force are also over. You take up another journal and it tells you that Socialism is triumphant; that the old Liberal party has been captured by the extreme wing of Socialism; that we are adopting the economic theories of Mr. Henry George, who, by the way is not quite the same as Mr. Lloyd-George. You take up sometimes a religious journal and it tells you that we are suffering from luxury and idleness and ir-religion and Godlessness all along the lines; and then you come to the political journal (or even may I say the non-political journal) and it tells you that Parliament is helpless; that Government has passed from the hands of the people into the clutches of a little band of administrators; and that the Mother of Parliaments is in a condition of senile decay.

Gentlemen, who is it says all this? First of all—and these are the heriditary exponents—society says it. The ruling classes in our country say it. The prophets and apostles of high finance say it. The drama occasionally says it. And you see the level-headed, sensible, resolute, sometimes aggressive Englishman portrayed in every country of the world as a demented imbecile and our land made the laughing-stock of every nation. The press says it. May I say in passing that the Liberal Party has no exponent in the Old Country, no powerful exponent of its opinion in the British press. Take the *Times* newspaper, owned by two respected and very accomplished friends of my own to-day, men who in their earlier days belonged to the Liberal party but have thrown off the dust of their feet from us, although one is still a prominent member of the Liberal League. The *Telegraph,* the *Standard,* the *Morning Post,* and *Daily Mail*—newspapers with the greatest circulation in our land—are all strong supporters of the Conservative or Unionist party to-day, and hence it is that in your Dominion and in the neighbouring United States, in South Africa, in Australasia, you hardly ever have an opportunity of seeing the case of British Liberalism presented to you fairly in the extracts from the British press. And I may go further and say that the press agencies whose duty it is to serve up for the intellectual consumption of our fellow-citizens throughout the world the most interesting features of British political reform to-day are almost entirely controlled by one political section in the Old Land.

The people who criticize, who tell you that England has seen her best days, and that she cannot confront the problems, be they commercial or political or military, that are ahead of her with the same success and resolution as in days gone by—I say these people shut their eyes, either ignorantly or knowingly, to some of the most striking features of British life to-day. Gentlemen, when you go to England, you probably spend the most of your time in the centres and suburbs of the Metropolis, and even there you notice that during the last generation London has practically been re-built. Works of enormous magnitude in the public interest have been constructed which have changed the aspect of the Metropolis, architecturally, socially, and in many other ways; but go from London into any of our great populous cities and you will find miles and miles of newly-constructed streets inhabited by the working classes to-day, living in a condition of comfort—a large percentage of them in their own homes—with which those of their fathers could never have compared. When a financial statistician, whose figures were quoted by one of your newspapers a few days ago, points to the comparatively small growth of the savings of our working classes in our Savings-banks, he totally ignores the enormous fortunes of the working classes of our land invested not only in their own houses but in the co-operative societies and in friendly societies, where their investments are very great. He also over-looks the fact that our great joint stock banks and financial institutions during the last twenty years have recognized that it is sound finance to offer facilities for the savings of the working classes—establishments which a quarter of a century ago would have paid no attention whatever to the working-man.

Sir, there are the houses of our people, the rate of their wages, the standard of living; the millions and millions of children to-day receiving from the state education who twenty-five years ago were running uneducated through our streets; the vast expansion of our home and our foreign trade as shown by the trade returns of two or three years ago, and even in the present year; the increased revenue which a penny on a pound in the income tax now shows realizes exactly twice as much as thirty years ago and proves that the assessable property in our country for income tax purposes, which now exceeds £1,000,000,000 a year, has doubled during the last thirty years.

Gentlemen, these are not signs of commercial, of financial, or of social deterioration; yet I am quite prepared to say that all is not well from a social standpoint "in the state of Denmark." Our densely-crowded slums, the far too large percentage of unemployed, the gigantic revenues which are expended by all classes of society in intoxicating drink, the huge crowds which throng to the places of public amusement to watch our matches, simply because they have something on the event—I say these are not satisfactory features in connection with British social life to-day. "What," we ask our critics, "is your remedy? You say that the country is decadent, that its finances are in a state of chaos, that the needs of the people are not being properly attended to or provided for, that our old-age system is based upon a rotten foundation"—and I admit that to some extent it is, because I think your system of assisting poor people to make some provision for their necessities in old age stands on a firmer foundation than ours at home. The answer is very simple—turn the Government out and put us in. I daresay, gentlemen, you have heard an echo of the same panacea for all financial and social and political ills even in the Dominion of Canada.

May I say, in passing, that the descendants of the old Puritans are the backbone of the Liberal party to-day in the House of Commons and the constituencies. They are, to a very large extent, the leaders of provincial thought. They hold a large percentage of local offices of authority where they are elected by the franchises of the people. An enormous percentage of them to-day are found in the ranks of the Labour party in our country, and at least two hundred of them are on the Liberal benches of the House of Commons. Now I venture to say that were we ever faced as a nation and as an empire with some of those military or naval problems which one hundred years ago our forefathers, with a small population and a poor people and with inferior appliances, had to face, you would find that the descendants of those old Puritan forefathers at home have got the same fighting force, the same resolution, the same stamina, and the same love of country which marked them in the days of the Common-wealth. Gentlemen, you sometimes say that we don't pay sufficient attention to Victoria Day, that we don't altogether support the proposal to put up the flag over our elementary schools, or observe, by these outward and visible signs, the profession of political faith which we inwardly hold. Well, the Puritans and the British Nonconformists are not a very demonstrative community. We do not shout very much; we do not wear our hearts upon our sleeves; we rather prefer to be known as men of action than as men of mere talk. At the same time I am not here for one moment to say that these outward displays of patriotism have not a very material effect upon a community, but, alas! in our country they have been appropriated by one political party who have claimed to have a sort of monopoly of patriotism and, unfortunately, this has antagonized many members of the Liberal party who would otherwise, I have no doubt, have been willing to readily adopt these patriotic symbols.

In my home in Oxfordshire, close to where the great Battle of Edgehill was fought, there lived three hundred years ago an old Colonel of Cromwell's army who was told the night after Edgehill to move his soldiers along quickly and cut off King Charles' retreat from Banbury to Oxford. Instead of doing so he allowed his men to sleep in what are now my stables, and in his diary he says: "My policy has always been to be sure you are right, then move quickly, strike hard, and praise God." What a wonderful art it is to be sure you are always right. Now I would say that while we are Nonconformists (and I had the honour of being Chairman for two years of the two hundred Nonconformists in the House of Commons; I am sorry we got nothing done—they would not listen to us), we are men of peace. But we are also sufficiently students of history to know that the only way to insure peace is to be ready and up-to-date in preparation for war, and we know that a defenceless, especially when it is a rich country, must be ultimately a servile and liberty-lost country. It would be a strange thing indeed if I had to defend the Liberal party to-day in a company of Canadian politicians, because if I had time to run through the records of Great Britain, (and I am not going to do it), during the last half century, or even more, I could show from the quotations of our great statesmen, from the acts of our Legislature, and from the whole trend of history, that no political party has ever striven more to enable the King's Dominions across the Seas to acquire and learn the art of self-government; and nobody has fought more resolutely than we have the theory that the British Colonies were made not for the colonists, but for the personal aggrandisement of politicians at home.

Before I sit down let me say a word or two on two questions—Imperial defence and Imperial trade. We are sometimes told that sentiment is the true bond of Empire, but there is not a man in this room, I presume, who does not recognize the value of what one might term the sentimental bond which is a powerful and a growingly powerful bond between the Old Country and the Dominions across the Seas. I certainly am not here to say that sentiment is the sole, or even, possibly, the most powerful bond of Empire. There is a duty of the Mother Country which I think she has faithfully fulfilled—to protect the commercial and political interests of the Dominions which have been placed beneath our flag in all parts of the world. And may I point out this, that nearly every war in which our country has been engaged during the last one hundred years—every war indeed—has been a war (with one exception) for the defence of the Colonial interests of Great Britain in various parts of the world. I am not much concerned with the somewhat academic discussion which the *Spectator* newspaper has embarked upon as to the relations of Great Britain and the United States upon naval issues, and I hardly think that it was a very happy journalistic inspiration of that clever journal when they said that the United States holds your Dominion of Canada in the hollow of her hand as a hostage. Why, the United States could not do that in the early history of your country. How could she do it to-day? But the only rivalry that I should like to see between the English-speaking communities, be they American or be they Canadian, would be a rivalry in commercial progress, in industrial activity, in intellectual discovery and attainment, and in everything which makes for the strengthening of a nation in its social and in its commercial and in its religious life.

I beg you not to believe all that you hear concerning what is sometimes called "Mr. Haldane's phantom army." The response of our people, aided (and here I gladly acknowledge) by the very section of the press to which I have alluded a few moments ago, notably the *Daily Mail,* to Mr. Haldane's appeal to our people for recruits to swell the territorial army, has been met with a most satisfactory response; and he is now within six per cent. of the total number of troops which he requires to form the second line of defence in our country. I do not know whether you desire to contribute towards the construction of Dreadnoughts in the Old Country, or whether you are going to embark upon the somewhat difficult and costly path of building them yourselves and, as a preliminary, erecting the ship-yards to construct them, and the docks to house them. Gentlemen, that is a Canadian issue on which I am not going to express any opinion. You will find it a very fruitful field of expenditure if you embark upon it. May I pass from the subject of Imperial defence for a moment, although I should like to add that Canada has not contributed a very large percentage of the cost of our Navy in years gone by, voluntarily and generously as she did contribute to the relief of the country in the great struggle for the defence of our South African colonies in the Boer War.

Now, gentlemen, we are told to look to Germany as our real model for commercial organization; and for methods of taxation even, and one of our financial authorities has recently, as you know, taken a motor trip of ten days' length around Germany in the motor car of an enthusiastic political friend, and has come back to the Old Country after this ten days' investigation in his motor car, believing that the whole railway system of the Old Country should at once be transferred from private enterprise and taken charge of by the state. Germany is powerful, she is learned, she is to some extent thrifty as we know she is beer-drinking, she is heavily taxed, and she is very much over-militarized. One of her great economists (Lizt) says, and I quote his statement because I believe it is applicable to Canadian trade: "the power of a nation depends upon its possession of a manufacturing power of its own." That does not mean of its ally. Now we are told that in the new Government, should it come into power and should the Liberal party be beaten in our country at the next election, we shall have in control a Tariff-reform Government, one of whose duties will first of all be to place on a more satisfactory footing, both to the Home country and to the Colonial manufacturer and merchant, the fiscal relation of our two lands.

May I go home, gentlemen, and tell my political friends that this distinguished company of Toronto merchants and politicians and students are all in favour of unrestricted free-trade with the Mother Country? Mr. Foster says I shall have to be my own guarantor. I am sorry to say I could not go bail even for myself. I should have to fall back on a dictum from that great economist where he lays down the irrevocable and sound commercial theory that a nation or a country which is emerging from its critical and its primitive conditions of trade into a manufacturing community, cannot afford to let go those reasonable and moderate tariffs which enable her manufacturers to produce the commodities which we see crowding the windows of your shops in your towns, and which you are disbursing all over your Dominion to-day. So I think I should have to say that so far as my investigations and inquiries go, I do not think that the Canadian people to-day are quite prepared for free-trade right through the Empire, or that you are ready to strike off your tariffs in order to allow a British manufacturer to send in from Bradford, from Lancashire, from our great steel district, and from our various paper mills, etc., commodities which you are paying, under the protection of the tariff, somewhat more for now than you would then get them at. If I were a Canadian I am bound to say I would not be a free-trader in the present condition of the country. But may I also say that while you are not ready to adopt free-trade, Britain, as far as I can gauge its opinion, is not ready to-day to put any taxation upon her grain coming into the country, or upon the raw materials of trade.

Now, gentlemen, within those two conditions, or rather outside those two conditions, there is a very wide field for the action of economists, and commercial authorities, for making preferential arrangements between our two countries for the advancement of our respective industries. But I believe Mr. Chamberlain said the same thing to your Canada Club in London only twelve years ago. He pointed out then, as I am trying to point out to-day, that free-trade all round the Empire under the protection of a sort of Zolverein, is not a condition which would suit the Colonies which are nurturing and fostering their local industries; nor would it suit the consumer in the densely-populated cities of the Mother Land, who is bound at the present moment to get the necessaries of life at the very lowest figure that he possibly can. We are sometimes told that Britain has done nothing at all for the Colonies even in the way of preference. I think it was Mr. Foster, when he was Finance Minister of this Dominion, who managed by his persuasive eloquence to persuade our treasury and government in London to do a thing which has secured to Canada preferential treatment in a most important domain of finance—that of trust funds. Our Government have in this thrown open for the Canadian Government securities a very wide field of investment which was before closed to every form of security excepting British and Indian securities. That was an enormous achievement. I am not sufficiently familiar as to who had the credit of securing that great concession, or that great change in the relations of our country, financially, but it is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance to Canada of that change in the law. (Mr. Foster: "That change was brought about under the present Government; it was commenced under the late one.")

It shows how your Governments are willing to adopt the wise things of their predecessors and put upon the scanty shelves those things which are not wise. But today a trustee is not allowed to invest in Argentina, where we have gigantic sums of money risked; we are not allowed to invest in United States securities; even our ally France, or Foreign nations—we are not permitted to invest one single penny in the securities of those nations. But of the seventy million sterling, which at this moment represents the Debt of Canada, a very large percentage, I should think probably five-sixths of that great fund, is probably held by the British investor. And that money, which you have borrowed at such absurdly low rates would never have been got in the Mother Country had it not been for the facilities of a preferential nature thus given.

Gentlemen, (we recognize it across the water; you must be still more conscious of it here) you have problems facing you which do not perplex and trouble us at home. We are trying to straighten out the troubles of the past; we are trying to adjust the work, and sometimes the legislation of men who in days gone by controlled our Parliaments and legislated in their own interests. We have, as we are so often reminded, a densely-crowded country with problems of an economic and social nature which do not, happily, at the moment trouble you. You are busy developing the vast and unknown resources of this gigantic Dominion. You have to pioneer your country; build your towns; construct your railways; open up your waterways; provide healthy and safe conditions for your miscellaneous populations. These are problems which, unfortunately, we have not to deal with in the old Motherland. We look often with envious eyes across the seas and see the energy and success with which you embark upon and successfully solve so many of these questions. May I assure you, and I speak as a man who has been in Parliament now for close on twenty years (I have never been beaten when I have appealed to my constituency; I have never taken what I call the "Little England" view of the destinies or duties of the old Mother Country), that I am looking forward to the time when our whole Empire will be federated for defensive and for trade purposes; when we shall acknowledge the different fiscal and economic conditions which pertain to the various communities under the protection of our one flag; and, believe me when I say, that there will be no hands held out more heartily, no hands which will grasp yours more firmly, than those of the Liberal sons of England across the waters.

CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

An Address by SIR J. PERCY FITZPATRICK, M.L.A., of Pretoria, Transvaal, before the Empire Club of Canada, on October 22, 1909—Dr. Elias Clouse, President, in the Chair, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario (Colonel J. M. Gibson), Sir John Hanbury-Williams, A.D.C. to the Governor-General, and Sir J. P. Whitney, Premier of Ontario, also present.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Please accept my sincere thanks for the very kind reception you have given to me. It is quite impossible for a South African to rise before a Canadian audience without first speaking for South Africa in acknowledgment and gratitude for the help that you gave us, not only in the War when you sent of your kith and kin, but in the subsequent period of the reconstruction. Many of your men died there, but they are not lost to you or to us. You can believe me that they are more eloquent preachers of a great doctrine than any of us who live can be. In the reconstruction we had the benefit and help from your men of a high example and, coming from South Africa, I would like to tell you that there is no part of the whole world whose reputation stands higher than that of Canada, as made by Canadians in South Africa.

Now I am compelled to a large extent to act upon the assumption that you do not know very much about the history of South Africa. I know how little our people know about Canada. Very probably your keen and immediate interests, your greater personal interests, date from the War. I would like to say a word or two about that. This trouble which began, as far as you know, ten years ago on the eleventh of this month, is one hundred years old and more. The real history of South Africa is that there has been a steady conflict between two ideals. I am a partisan, of course. I represent the British party. I have always done so; I shall always do so; but I hope it will be possible for me to put the case before you without prejudice; with justice to the other side; and in doing so I would like to say that from the start to the finish, their ideal and aim has been a perfectly legitimate and honourable one. It was in conflict with ours. It was our duty to resist it to the last, but it is not fair for us to say that their's was not an honourable aim. They aimed at having a Dutch republic in South Africa in which there would be racial dominance. We aimed at the Empire; the flag; equality.

Now, the struggle is one hundred years old, but on the part of the Dutch settlers it is even older than that, because they had trouble with their own East India Company. They wanted self-government; wanted to be left alone to work out their own salvation. They faced the most tremendous hardships and you cannot but feel sympathy with those pioneer people; but the conditions of the country, the conditions of the age, altering as they went along, made it impossible that their ideals should become practicable. The responsibility was England's. The policy of England was a broad-minded, fair one. The British Government very often were mistaken in details; very often they vacillated, and misled the people. I do not blame the successive Governments for that, because you have to know the conditions to realize the difficulties with which they had to contend. But there had to be but one flag, one government; for all my lifetime and the lifetime of many others we have known, though we may not have spoken about it, that the shadow of the sword was over us and that this question had to be settled some day; and as we went on, it became more and more clear that the only way to settle it was by war. They knew it as well as we knew it. Attempts were made to avoid that solution, but they failed. I could take you back through history and show the many attempts that have been made by men like Sir George Grey and by Cecil Rhodes who tried it, until, as he said to me himself, "I came up against a stone wall."

When you touched racial dominance; when you wanted equality all through South Africa according to principles of British policy; there you came up against the national ideal—the other ideal which was irreconcilable with ours. When a leader rose among the Dutch who commanded their respect and their confidence, and who knew his own mind, and had the dour courage to stick to his policy through thick and thin—President Kruger—things took on a very active and menacing form. The retrocession of the Transvaal after the first War was the first triumphant result for them. And so it marched on. You have heard about the Jameson Raid. I was one of those who "did time" for their convictions. So I suppose I may be allowed to speak about that now. That was not the cause of the War. It was only a symptom and a product of existing conditions. It was not the only raid. President Kruger himself was a raider. He raided the Free State, and ought to have been sentenced to death according to the law, but they fined him seventeen pound, ten, and then remitted the fine. They were always raiding each other, so good nature was not only a good thing, but a wise policy.

There were other raids, north, south, east, and west, through the Transvaal. They were all the result of the conditions; they were all attempts to carry out that policy. Some of them were successful, some partly successful. The War, in my judgment, became inevitable when in addition to one leader on one side who knew his own mind, there arose another on the other side who also knew his mind, and was filled with determination. Rhodes made his trial and failed. After that, there came a man who made no mistakes; that was Lord Milner. I can tell you of my own personal knowledge that his first most earnest, most sustained effort, was to get a settlement by peaceful means. He said to me that anyone could settle it by war, but to settle it by peaceful means would be one of the greatest triumphs of the age; that, he tried for. In that he failed, as others had failed. There was only one solution—we had to have it out. They will tell you the same to-day as I am telling you. They told me the same before the War. There could not be two masters in South Africa.

Looking back, you find two stages, two ideals—and of these the first was the Dutch republic and racial dominance. It had its opportunities from 1880 to 1899. There were 19 years in which it had a practical working trial. You cannot say it was a success. There was everything for one race, nothing for anyone else. All the work was done by one; all the prosperity was the result of one—the British. All the powers, all the privileges, were in the other hands. The War came. Instead of exacting tribute; instead of pursuing the policy of the spoils of the conqueror, as others have done; the ideal or policy which has made the British Empire and made it great was given a practical working trial for the second time,—because that policy had already been in operation in Natal and in Cape Colony; so generously in operation that in Cape Colony the Dutch had much greater privileges of representation, more power per head, than the British. But across the border in the Republics the British had none. The second practical working trial of the British ideal—equality—came after the war in the Transvaal when our representation was on a fixed basis—so many voters to return a member; no power in the Legislature to alter constituencies, to gerrymander, to favour one party, one race, one religion—nothing of that sort in the constitution—so many voters to return a member, wherever those voters should be—that was equality. We have had two years of that.

Now you, from your interest, from your sense of partnership in South Africa, which dates from the War, must have felt uneasy when you saw that country practically handed back to those who had failed to win it with the rifle. Well, it has not gone so badly. We have had a very hard struggle, but the mere fact that equal treatment was given to Dutch and British alike, and that that was insured in the Transvaal, sobered those who had the power. It also gave us the assurance that there was fair play. If we are in the minority we must take it as part of the game. It is no good grumbling. We asked for equal rights and fair treatment, and if we are left in the minority, we are satisfied with the principle, though perhaps not with the result.

When it came to Union, our opportunity, our problem, was this—whether we who had believed in the union of

South Africa when we were in power, should turn around and say that we did not believe in it when the Dutch came into power; because they were in power in three self-governing Colonies out of the four. We stood to our principles and we said: "What we do want is that the principle of equality under the British Flag, which we have contended for in the Transvaal shall be extended throughout the whole of South Africa"—and that was the point upon which we stood through thick and thin, and we have carried it. They were two to one against us. We could not have carried it by a voting strength. We carried it for many reasons, but to be fair, it is the real justice, the working results of that, the position, the status, the record, the history, the prestige—everything that makes up the British Empire—that spoke for us. Though in Britain's power to make any sort of settlement, an Alsace-Lorraine settlement, for instance, no distinction was actually made between friend and foe; picked up as soon as knocked down, started afresh, repatriation, Opposition help to the late enemies, everything that could be done—in one second, on the signing of peace on the 31st of May, seven years ago, those people were transformed from enemies into fellow-subjects, people to be helped, and they were helped. Of course it made an impression. You cannot expect them to turn around and advertise their gratitude. They don't. There had been many trying things said and done, but that policy has been justified by its results; that policy of helping them and of treating them fairly after their defeat has been justified by results. There can be no manner of doubt at all as to that.

I know that this subject is so big that I really have strayed quite off the lines that I ought to have followed in giving some account of the Union in South Africa, and already twenty minutes have gone. But the difficulty is to know what to leave out. When one has been for a year dealing with nothing else, there are all sorts of things that seem interesting and important. Our policy, if I may take it quite broadly, as a British party, was to try as well as we could to act as trustees of British institutions—and, mind you, we were suffering because we were in a minority.. We had other grievances which I am not going to advertise to you to-day, which made it difficult for us to act fairly and see straight. We may have failed in some ways, but in the main, we have risen to the occasion, and history will justify us. And we did try honestly to look upon ourselves as trustees of the British cause rather than as individuals who had a grievance and felt hurt.

In pursuing that policy we had to face the settlement with the Dutch. We went to them in the Transvaal before we met formally in Convention and put it to them. I put it to General Botha myself—If we don't agree in the Transvaal, there will be no union. The Transvaal being the one prosperous colony and practically having the "yes" or "no" say; each party strong enough to block the other; each unable to carry against the other; we had to come to terms, and if we came to terms we would set such an example that the whole of South Africa would be inspired. We threshed it out for several weeks and we came to those terms, and I am glad to be able to say that eight Delegates from the Transvaal, throughout practically nine months of discussion, were never once broken in their agreement. We recognized the difficulties, the feelings, the reasonable claims, the susceptibilities of each other, and that was what led us to make a settlement which no doubt will interest you in Canada much more largely than some of the other points—that is, on the language. I make no pretence about this language business. I have always dealt with it in the same way, with Dutch and English audiences. If it were possible anywhere to have one language for one people, have it, of course—if it is possible. If you could have one language among the civilized people of the world, the risks of misunderstanding, the chances of war, would be reduced almost to a vanishing point. It stands to reason that two languages set up a barrier, but, (and this is the big but), where you have half the people speaking one language, and half the people speaking the other, you may have the power to rule out a language, to stamp it out, to legislate it out, but you will never have the power to move it out of the hearts and homes of the people, and you will never be able to remove the impression that you have humiliated them, and have put the brand of inferiority upon their nationality.

I speak strongly. I was the warmest advocate of the dual language in South Africa, notwithstanding holding the strongest convictions that one language was desirable. I have, I hope made it clear to you. If we had had the power to vote it down, what would the result be? When you touch a man's language, you touch his nationality, you put the badge of inferiority upon his race, whether you mean it or not. It is so construed amongst a people who are not educated. They can see nothing else but your branding of the race. They are not constituted as you in this room are constituted, able to distinguish, and able to see the great advantages, the superiority, of having one language as a commercial asset, or one instrument over another. They cannot see that. They say, "No it would be interpreted as a desire on the part of the British to stamp out the Dutch people," and we said, "No, that we cannot risk." And when they put to us the test question on which we were to break down—language—and said, "What are you going to do about that—equal rights?" our answer was, "We have claimed equal rights, and we have meant equal rights." You see, we have really tried, for the second time in the Transvaal, but for the first time throughout the whole of South Africa, to establish the working of the British ideal—equal rights.

You see what I mean. For a hundred years there had been direct conflict. One or the other had to win. Either it was to be a Dutch republic in which there would be preference for the Dutch over all comers, or it was to be a part of the British Empire.

There was an instinct which is most remarkable and most heartening, displayed at the time of the War. I do not know how you got to understand it, because our case was never properly stated before the War. We were most misrepresented; very little was known of the true conditions. You were busy building up your country; we were busy at ours; Australia busy at theirs. What sort of magnetic current runs through the Empire that tells the outlying parts that the existence of the whole structure is at stake, I cannot say. From every part of the Empire came the same feeling. Men rose up; they didn't say much, and we watched breathlessly to see what would happen. We knew that the existence of the Empire was at stake that day, when they had to choose whether they would break down before the ultimatum, or whether, at all costs, they would fight it out.

We knew, and so did the sister Colonies. They were watching silently the old Empire, and the old Empire played up all right, and I can tell you you have no conception of the trial that it was to us. We knew that if the British policy failed in South Africa the dismembership of the British Empire would begin from that minute. If the system broke down in that test, it would break down later on elsewhere. It has survived, and I do believe that it is vastly stronger to-day than it ever was. I tell you from my own knowledge of our late opponents, that many of them are first-class fellows. You know from meeting them in the field what good fighters they are. Many of you have some knowledge of their history —what a hard time they have had there. They are really first-class people, first-class material. With education, it will be still more evident, but to-day, their leaders know, though they won't tell you, that it would have been a misfortune to have won, because they would still have had to face the world powers on the coast. They could do nothing in South Africa on the seas. The Cape is still the highway to India. They may cut canals where they like, but in war, the canals would not be worth anything. Had they succeeded in expelling the British power from South Africa, they would have had to deal with another power on the sea.

To-day, the Dutch know from experience that they have got complete self-government; they have got clean government; they have got security, which they never had before; and for the first time in living memory, they have assured peace between the white races. The shadow of the sword, which has been over us all my lifetime, and that of others before me, is gone. The question is settled, and they can see, as we can see, that having accepted a basis of equal rights they have self-government, as generous, as complete, as can be given.

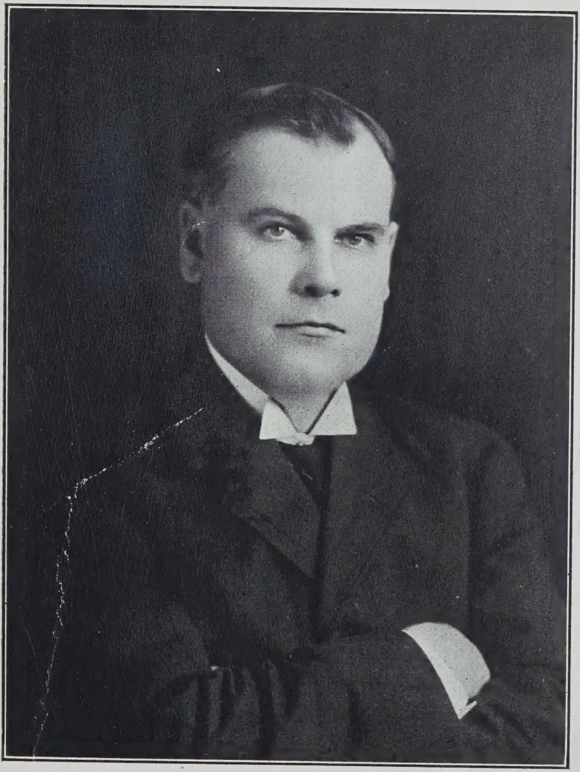
SYSTEMS OF LAW WITHIN THE EMPIRE.

An Address by His Honour J. HERBERT DENTON, K.C., Judge of the County Court of York, before the Empire Club of Canada on November 18, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I regard it not only as a privilege but also as an honour to be invited by my esteemed friend, Dr. Clouse, your President, to say a few words to you at one of your famous mid-day luncheons. I have all the greater pleasure in doing so for the reason that I understand your Club owes no allegiance to either political party and has for its chief aim and object the furtherance of the interests of Canada and the Empire. It was with some hesitation that I chose my subject for this address, firstly because it is one of those subjects which perhaps require, in order to be comprehensively treated, a little more time than we have at our disposal to-day; and, secondly because, having within it some of the dry bones of the law, I had some doubt as to whether I could interest you sufficiently in it. However, I do not wish you to understand that I am going to treat of the science of the law in general or in the abstract. I intend rather to treat of some of the different systems of law that are to be found within the boundaries of our great British Empire.

Let me say, first of all, that it has always been the policy of British Government ever since we began to have colonies at all that when a new territory is acquired either by conquest or by treaty, not to impose upon the conquered people at once and for all time the laws of England, but rather to allow the laws and customs of the people so conquered to remain in the acquired territory so far as the same is practicable. In that respect we have differed from the policies adopted by Empires that have gone into history. The Roman Empire, very generally, (though there were exceptions) insisted upon the



His Honour J. Herbert Denton, K.C.
County Judge of York.

Roman Law being enforced throughout her boundaries. Napoleon, after he had prepared and introduced that wonderful Code of Civil Laws which bears his name, insisted likewise that those laws should be enforced generally throughout his Empire, and they were enforced. Speaking of Napoleon, I know that there are a great many who severely criticize him, and I have in mind now the remarks of an eminent Englishman, Lord Coleridge, who characterized Napoleon as a man who with Julius Cæsar and some others ought to be looked upon as "one of the greatest butchers and slaughterers that a merciful God ever allowed to tramp over and devastate His earth." Whether Napoleon deserves this or not, one thing he did —one great beneficent act—he gave his mind and his great military and political influence to the preparation of that wonderful Code of Civil Laws.

Then it is a matter, too, of history, that Spain reared a Simon Bolivar, and lost all her American possessions because she refused to adopt what the English policy has always been in Colonial Government. Our policy, which I think is the best policy, was a new policy in Empire. I know there are some who say we have gone too far, that we have given too many concessions, that we have been too generous with the people we have conquered. History does not show that. I think if we judge our policy by the success of British colonial government, by the success which has attended it, we must come to the conclusion that our Governments from time to time have acted with great wisdom. Now this policy so adopted and enforced has brought about some very curious and interesting results.

Come with me, for a few minutes, on a trip, in your imagination, around the British Empire. Leaving the Metropolis, we soon arrive at the Channel Islands. Here we find our possessions occupied by a people, nearly all of whom speak the Norman-French tongue, and who are all under laws and customs which are founded on the laws and customs of old Normandy. Passing, up the Irish Channel, we come to the Isle of Man. This possession has a system of laws peculiar to herself, and which cannot be said to be based upon any well-known system of law. Entering the Mediterranean, we soon arrive at the Island of Malta. Here there is scarcely a vestige of English law. It is Roman law, as modified by Italian law, and yet the people are well governed and satisfied. Later on we arrive at the Island of Cyprus which, as you know, is inhabited largely by Mohammedans and Greeks. The laws there in force are based upon the Mohammedan laws. In recent years the English Government has introduced a judicial system which calls for English barristers presiding over the Courts which administer to a large extent Mohammedan laws. Let us go through the Suez Canal, down the Red Sea, and in course of time we arrive at the Island of Ceylon. Here is an island which was occupied first by Portuguese; then by the Dutch, and lastly by our own people. The result is a mixture of the different systems of law. Leaving Ceylon we come to our great Indian Empire. What a great mixture of systems we find there! First of all there is the Mohammedan system, a very refined and technical system and one that is a great study in itself. Then there are a great many tribal customs that are peculiar to India which have often the force of law. Out of the great Hindu law founded upon the sacred books written in the Sanscrit tongue have grown schools and systems of law. While there is a code of fundamental civil laws in force in India, thanks to Lord Macaulay and those who worked with him, it is necessary to obtain a general knowledge of the laws of India to know the Mohammedan and Hindu systems as well as the tribal customs.

We need not call at New Zealand or Australia, because they are more British than Britain herself. Let us go over to South Africa. Here, with the exception of Natal, which has the common law of England, the whole of united South Africa is under the Roman-Dutch law—a mixture. Leaving there, we arrive at the little Island of Mauritius, which we took from the French in 1810. This is our only colony in which the great Napoleonic code is in force. This Code came up for consideration in an appeal from the Island to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a few years ago. Passing to America, we come to the Island of Trinidad, where Spanish and English laws are in force. The rest of the British West Indies are under the common law of England. So also are Newfoundland and the whole of Canada, with the exception of Quebec, and in Quebec we have a curious mixture. We have not the Napoleonic code as such because we took over Quebec before Napoleon's day. The laws of Quebec seem rather to be based upon the laws and customs of old France before the Revolution—amended from time to time as the French came into contact with their English neighbours. Having now finished our journey, we may well ask ourselves the question how and by what authority, and by what means are these laws enforced? The answer at once is, by and through the local Courts of these various possessions. But there is one final Court of Appeal for the Empire, before which all these customs and laws and systems come up for review and consideration. And about that Court I should like to say a few words. It is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

I am not going into the history of this Committee beyond saying that its jurisdiction is based upon the right that every subject has to lay his grievances at the foot of the Throne. In early days these grievances were few, and no doubt were considered by the King himself. In the course of time as our possessions grew, in area and population, these grievances grew in number. The King, instead of considering them himself, would refer them to his advisors, the Privy Council. Later on as a further development, when these grievances consisted of wrongs done them by unjust decisions in the local Courts, in other words appeals from the local Courts, they were referred by His Majesty not to the whole Privy Council, but to a judicial committee of the Privy Council. This Judicial Committee was re-created, so to speak, by a statute passed in 1833. The number of the law-lords who may sit on the Committee vary, but as a general rule number nine or ten. Without the slightest doubt the members of this Judicial Committee are, as a rule, the greatest judicial minds that are to be found in Britain. The paid members of that Committee receive a salary if

I remember rightly of five thousand pounds a year. The Lord Chancellor who presides over the Committee, and who is the only member of it who is a member of the British Cabinet, receives ten thousand pounds a year. It is not a Court which pronounces judgment. It is a Committee which reports to the King who acts upon the report. When next you are in London and have any spare time, it would be worth your while to go down and watch the proceedings of this Committee. They sit in an old building in Whitehall. After going up a flight of stairs, you arrive at a dingy old room with a lot of dingy old furniture, and there these law-lords sit around a table. There are always four or more of them—there must at least be four. The chair at the end of the table is not occupied. The reason is said to be (I cannot vouch for this) that it is kept for His Majesty, the King, in case he should ever want to bother himself with the details of a lawsuit, something he has never done yet, and something which he is not likely to do.

If you are there long enough you will hear some very interesting cases. It may be that you will hear a dispute between two Indian Rajahs over some Indian estate. If you had been there a few years ago and dropped it at the right moment you would have heard a dispute between two highly-born Indian families, over the right to paint their favourite idol's nose during a festival.

These things may seem very strange to us, but they are very important to our Indian fellow subjects. Now I might also say that in India this Judicial Committee is very much respected and is held in reverence by many people. I was reading not long ago, an anecdote, said to be founded upon fact, that a traveller in the interior of India came upon a number of natives who were offering up sacrifices to an unknown God. On inquiry he found that the natives did not know much about this God. All they knew was his name, which was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It seems that the natives there had had some difficulty with an Indian prince, who was exercising some unjust authority over them, and they appealed to their own local Court without success. They carried their grievances to the Judicial Committee and there they had them remedied. They were offering up sacrifice to this unknown something which they thought must be a God because it accomplished so much for them. You might also hear at the Committee a dispute between two proprietors of a Tea Plantation in Ceylon, or over some diamond properties in the Transvaal, possibly (who one can tell?) you may be there when there is a dispute between Toronto and her Street Railway Company. No one watching the proceedings of this Committee can fail to be impressed with the greatness and grandeur of our British Empire. It is undoubtedly true that the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee is more extensive, whether judged by population, area, variety of nations, languages, creeds, laws or customs, than has hitherto been enjoyed by any Court known to Christendom.

I would point out that this Judicial Committee has a political significance as well. If we were to ask ourselves, "What is the great tie which binds us together in one common Empire?" our answer would probably be that unseen something which we call sentiment. But in addition to that tie of sentiment there are certain other ties we may term "legal ties." One is this, that our Governor-General, without whose sanction or approval no Act of Parliament can become law here, is appointed by His Majesty, the King, on the recommendation of his Government. Another is, that the legal power undoubtedly rests with the Imperial Parliament, if they want to exercise it, of passing laws having binding force in all His Majesty's Dominions. There is a third, this very Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. I know there are people who would like to do away with it, and they advance reasons which I think are not valid ones. We may take two or three of them. First, they say that we ought not to carry our appeals there because it is a reflection upon our own country and our own Courts and Judges. They say it shows that we are not able to settle our own law-suits. I think there is very little in that. We ought to be broad enough in this country to be willing and anxious that our disputes should be submitted to the very highest judicial authority that can be obtained, whether in London, Montreal, Toronto, or anywhere else. It is a well-known fact that the greatest talent that you can find in any profession, or in any walk of life, somehow gravitate to the great centres of population, and so we naturally expect to find, and do find, in the centre of the Empire the very best and strongest judicial minds in the world.

Then it is said that our decisions ought to be rendered in an atmosphere of home where local opinion is known, etc. Well now, gentlemen, it seems to me that is a very vile doctrine. If our legal rights are to be based upon or influenced by public opinion, we may just as well do away with Courts and Judges altogether, and have our legal decisions given by City Councils, Legislatures and Parliaments. A man may be right though all the world be against him, and our Courts exist to establish him in that right. So that I think there is nothing in that objection.

Then it is said that the Judicial Committee is no stronger than our own highest Courts. Well, that all depends. How are we to decide that question? If we have an intricate medical case upon which we want to obtain the best opinion, we go to the man who has the highest standing in that profession. Although he may be wrong it is the best opinion we can get. We are guided not only in law, but in everything else, by the weight of authority. There is no complicated law-suit in which any man can say, beyond doubt, that this decision is right or that decision is wrong. It is the weight of judicial opinion behind it that gives satisfaction and finality, and it is very generally regarded as a fact that the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, is the opinion of a Committee composed of men of higher standing in their profession and greater legal attainments than any that can be obtained in any of the Dominions of the Empire.

Allow me to say this in conclusion, that I have some sympathy, not very much, but some, with that class of people who, when they do think Imperially, are always thinking about building a Canadian Navy or contributing to Imperial Dreadnoughts. Their dreams by night are of foreign invasion, and their thoughts by day are about wars and rumours of wars. These things of course are not to be under-estimated. I suppose that in national life, as well as in private life, we must always be upon our guard, but let me say this in parting, that if we should happen to have any time left after we get through thinking of Canadian Navies and Dreadnoughts, I should like to see our attention directed to some of those silent, powerful forces that are always at work in the upbuilding and strengthening of Empire. This Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is one of these forces, and that is one reason for continuing it. I do not feel qualified nor do I venture to offer any advice upon the subject, but if I may be allowed to express my own private opinion it is this that so long as we remain part of the British Empire, though we may improve upon the *personnel* of this Committee from time to time, though we may strengthen it, let us keep it, guard it, cling to it, never let it go.

A WEAK LINK IN THE IMPERIAL CHAIN.

Address by LIEUT.-COLONEL WM. HAMILTON MERRITT before the Empire Club of Canada on November 25, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I need not tell you that I feel very highly honoured by the compliment paid to me in asking me to address a body which has accomplished such splendid work towards furthering the unity of the Empire. My plea to-day is for national safety and national defence, as advocated by such leagues as the United Service League in England, and the Australian Defence League. We hope to have a league in Canada on somewhat similar lines, because, as I shall endeavour to point out to you, the principles lying at the basis of these Leagues are all vitally important. This naturally is a very large subject. Not only does national safety, but such important considerations as national health, national physique, national cleanliness, national civility, and many other adjuncts, belong to it.

If you find I am a little strong in denunciation or in suggestion, I hope you will not think it is in a spirit of fault-finding. but in order to attract attention and give emphasis to considerations which are looked upon by a great many people rather lightly. In fact, I think the people in Canada, when it comes to considerations of national defence, as a rule look upon it from an academic point of view, as if they were inhabitants of Mars or some other place, and were listening to some interesting thing that did not concern them. But we are in this world and we have to stay with it. We are living absolutely in a danger-zone.

Suppose we liken the British Empire to a chain girdling the world, composed of alternate links of blue and brown —sea and land—we then have a symbol of the Empire. One weak link and the chain is gone. The blues would

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. HAMILTON MERRITT.
President of the Canadian Military Institute, Toronto.

all go together, but each brown link might perchance exist alone. Canada is a very, very, weak link, and the best and first work Canada can do for the Imperial chain is to make the brown link of Canada strong. This should be her first duty to the Empire. Let us begin at the bottom, the land safety first, then we can look out for the sea. We got the worst of it on the water in 1812, but we did not lose Canada.

If the United States took Canada to-morrow could the Empire wrest it from her if it held the sea? I think not. Don't let us risk it at any rate. Let us make our link strong by training the manhood of Canada, every man training to fit himself to serve at sea or on land in defence of his beloved country should it become necessary. This is what Cartier, that great Minister of Militia, advocated. First, the land, then, he maintained, the sea defence would come in due course. However, if the Motherland needs co-operation on the sea at once, then, let us start both the land and sea defence basis together, but we should not neglect the former. We should safeguard our soil. The Rev. Dr. Carman puts Imperial Defence as follows in his recent splendid letter: "Strengthening the parts we most effectually strengthen the whole; and protecting the whole we most surely protect the parts."

I am quite satisfied that when I speak of a weak link the majority of our fellow-citizens will say: "We wonder what can be meant, probably India or South Africa is to be the subject of the address." I make bold to say that the *indifference* of the great majority of our fellow-countrymen to the matter of our National existence, to the safety of our hearths and homes and of our flag, is so great that most people away down in their hearts feel real and sincere pity for the poor fools who "waste their time playing soldier." We poor fools often go to that other superior citizen, who is pitying us while we are spending our time and money, and ask him to help things along, but we are generally told "Oh this is the Government's concern, go to them." If we then go to the Government they say, "Why this is an enlightened voluntary system, go to the financial Institutions you protect, and to the rich men!" Militia plans for safe-guarding Canada fall hopelessly and helplessly to the ground. I will say emphatically and without exaggeration, it would be far better, from a national defence point of view, to throw the money spent on the Militia of this country into the lake. This statement is not intended to signify that another Government would do differently, or that other persons would give better results for the money spent on them, but merely that the basis of the existing system is wrong, that we are leaning on a broken reed, that we are living in a fool's paradise. If we were spending nothing, an adequate system would be demanded.

Now, these statements may seem to be unsupported generalities, let me therefore give a few facts and figures. First of all I would point out that there are two sorts of military service. One is based on the principle that it is a man's duty to fit himself to defend his hearth and home, his flag and his country on sea or on land, just as it is made his duty to pay his taxes. Some men do both loathfully, some willingly, but, in most countries it is conceded to be their duty and they are made to do it by law. This principle is followed in the Argentine Republic, Australia, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Chili, Denmark, France, Germany, Turkey, Belgium, Brazil, Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal and Spain. The other principle, of paid service, is in vogue in England, the United States, China and Canada, who all rely on the "dollar" basis for their defence. The first two of these latter countries, England and the United States, have adopted the "blue-water" defence basis. They consider that they are isolated and can be defended by a Navy on which they spend vast sums of money. Leaving out the expenditure on the Navy, the following comparison with France and Japan, for example, will show a soldier getting a cent a day in France and a dollar in Canada:

	Cost.	War establishment.	Field Guns.
Great Britain	$137,295,000	712,864	1,675
U. S. A.*	125,078,025	213,770	316

(*Reg. army only, State Militia not included in cost, but included in W.E.)

	Cost.	War establishment.	Field Guns.
France	$129,645,000	3,630,200	2,834
Japan	34,104,500	1,115,000	1,446
		3,000,000 (untrained)	
Switzerland	7,500,000	540,000	343
Canada	6,749,275	60,000	108

China and Canada vary from the rest of the world. They have neither the "patriotic" basis system of all of those civilized nations, to whom I have alluded, nor can they adopt the "blue-water" isolation basis for safety, for both have a land boundary between them and great nations. China and Canada depend on the force of will-power, the bulwark of "Super-intelligence" for their defence. China has indeed stink-pots, weird banners, alarming masks, some warships and about 300,000 modern armed troops to defend her; which, for the real serious practical purposes of national defence, leaves Canada further isolated, the only civilized nation which has developed a strong, masterful, serene, super-intelligence which can in some mysterious manner drive an armed foe from her borders. Or, speaking seriously, comparison shows that Canada is the only country that can dare rely on practically nothing for her defence stock-in-trade, for, indeed, it is too absurd to think that she leads the whole world, instead of toddling a long way behind it in the matter of taking precautions for national safety. What she does gives practically no results. For less money than we spend Bulgaria can put 381,000 and Servia 352,000 men in the field, and Roumania 555,200, Sweden 494,350, and the Argentine Republic 500,000 men in the field.

Let us for a moment consider what has given the moral fibre to the nations of the world. Is it peace? Ruskin says "We talk of Peace and Learning and of Peace and Plenty, and of Peace and Civilization, but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that on her lips the words were Peace and sensuality, Peace and Selfishness, Peace and Death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace,—trained by war and betrayed by peace—in a word that they were born in war, and expired in peace." As Thomas Adams "the prince of Puritan theologians said: "Shall war march against us with thundering steps, and shall we only assemble ourselves in the temples, lie prostrate on the pavements, lift up our hands and eyes to heaven and not our weapons against our enemies? Shall we beat the air with our voices and not their bosoms with our swords? Only knock our own breasts, and not knock their heads? Sure, a religious conscience never taught a man to neglect his life, his liberty, his estate, his peace. Piety and policy are not opposites; He that taught us to be harmless as doves, bade us also be wise as serpents."

"Fight, say you; why, who strikes us? Yield that no enemies do, are we sure that none will do? When our security hath made us weak, and their policy hath made them strong, we shall find them, like that troublesome neighbour, knocking at our door early in the morning, before we are up, when it will be too late for us to say, 'If we had known of your coming we would have provided better cheer for you.' They thank you, they will take now such as they find, for they purpose to be their own carvers, and the morsels they swallow shall be your hearts. Let us, therefore, like good housekeepers, when such unbidden guests come, have always a breakfast ready for them; which, if we give them heartily, they shall have small stomach to their dinners. Be you but ready for war, and I durst warrant your peace. That war at some time is just and necessary; indeed, just when it is necessary, as here. For shall it come to the gates, and shall we not meet it? Yea, shall we not meet it before it come near the gates? There is, then, a season when war is good and lawful. St. Augustine observes that when the soldiers, among the rest of the people, came to John the Baptist to be catechized, and said, 'What shall we do?' he did not bid them leave off being soldiers, but taught them to be good soldiers. 'Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely; and be content with your wages.'" Does not common sense and ordinary observation dictate that a strenuous life of self-sacrifice develops best that form of character which we denote as "Christian?" "To be weak is to be miserable!"

In the recent debate on Lord Robert's Defence Bill the Bishop of Exeter said: "The young men of the country are very much in need of some reinforcement of those manly capacities of endurance and discipline which have been at the back of whatever the country has achieved. . . . Some such influence as that which would be furnished by the Bill would do more than anything else to counteract this softness and unmanliness which are becoming apparent."

I met, recently, a German gentleman who had lived for 30 years in England and married an English wife. He told me that the German Military Service System had made that country, commercially and otherwise, that the results on the manhood and womanhood in Germany were immeasurably superior to the results he saw in England under the military system there. That if there was universal peace he would, in the cause of health and humanity, advocate the continuance of the German Military system. Lord Milner has pointed out that no financial institution is safe without a large reserve force in cash, so also no nation is safe without a large reserve force in men. On the one hand it means safety and not panic, on the other hand it means peace and not war. A strenuous life of self-sacrifice makes men and nations, this simply means physical and military training. And this training is good to make healthy men, to make strong men, to make men with discipline and system, and to make men think of the bad effects of insubordination and lawlessness.

WHAT CAN BE DONE? We can

(1) Determine that we will preserve our present Nationality at any sacrifice.

(2) Satisfy ourselves that we are ordinary men and women in Canada, like the rest of the world.

(3) Look round at all the rest of the civilized nations of the earth and see what their patriotism impels them to do for National safety and the moulding of their national manhood.

(4) Consider the history of our own country; what has happened, what was then done, and follow the example of our forefathers.

With reference to the last clause, I would ask why we have the Union Jack floating above us to-day? Leaving aside consideration of the splendid loyalty and services of the Six Nations' Indians and Tecumseth's followers, the thing more than anything else that saved Canada was the Militia Law of 1808. This law was nothing more or less than the spirit of devotion and loyalty to Canadian soil of French Canadians. The early British Governors of Canada had the common sense to recognize a good law. They kept on the French Militia law for fifty years after the fall of Quebec, Lord Dorchester reviving their system by his ordinances, of 1787 and 1789 which were finally embodied in the Act of 1808, which Act saved Canada, and without which it must have fallen before the 13 invasions made during the three long years of war. The invaders found an armed people on Canadian soil, both French and British.

What has been the history of the expansion of the United States? The original territory, under the Peace of Paris in 1783, covered the territory east of the Mississippi and north of Florida. Then the Province of Louisiana, the great Central West, was purchased from France in 1803 and Florida from Spain in 1819. Texas as a republic was admitted in 1845, Great Britain was euchred out of Oregon and Washington in 1846 and the remainder of the West wrested from Mexico by war in 1848, save a small piece purchased from them in 1853. Then Alaska was bought from Russia in 1867; Hawaii was absorbed in 1899; the Phillipines taken from Spain in 1898, which might as well be said to include Cuba. A pretty good record of land grabbing—a ten-fold increase to the 326,378 square miles of the original 13 States. The question is, have they finished? Will history not repeat itself? Does the world appear to be breaking into small states, small trusts and combines, decreasing expansion?

Mr. L. S. Amery, the well-known British Military expert, says: "I know that the average politician who hates all unpleasant facts will say 'the Americans are our cousins and friends; war with them is unthinkable!' Unthinkable! There is no such a word in international politics. We have been at war with the United States in the past. We have more than once since then been on the verge of war with them—the last time only 12 years ago, over Venezuela." Mr. Amery, knowing the hopelessness of our Military system and military position, goes on to say: "We require a Military system capable of putting, if it came to the worst, two million men into the field in Canada in the second year of war." The humiliation of our impotence is made even more clear by Mr. Amery when he alludes to "the less critical case of India." Therefore should we not wake up, go back to the old law which saved Canada? Under it Nova Scotia alone had as many drilled militia-men as we have in the whole of Canada to-day, at one-sixtieth of our last year's expenditure. That old law demanded that every man between 16 and 60 should be enrolled in his local company and, under penalties, should turn out with a musket and six ball-ammunition for training for service, when called upon by his Commanding officer. The change from this good old law was deplored by those who served under it, as for example my grandfather who served from 1812-14, and says in his journal: "A new Militia bill was brought in (1846), but I much prefer the old law of 1808, inaugurated under the immortal Brock, whereby flank companies were always kept enrolled and trained for an emergency, thereby forming an active force, ready at any time to take the field, and form a rallying body for the rest. The wisdom of this scheme was well tried in 1812, when nearly the entire Militia was ready to take the field in defence of their country in from 12 to 24 hours after the declaration of war." And again he says: "In March of this year (1854) we find the first movement towards establishing a volunteer organization, which afterward entirely supplanted the old Militia, although we doubt if the result of the movement has paid us good interest on the money spent over its institution, as we are still without the efficient home army of 1794, 1812, or even 1837." The spirit of those old heroes has been well illustrated in "The Battle of Lundy's Lane," by Duncan Campbell Scott, who concludes a long story as follows:

But—there's his grave* in the orchard where the headstone glimmers white;
We could see it, we thought, from our window e'n on the darkest night;
It is set there for a sign that what one lad could do
Would be done by a hundred thousand lads whose hearts were stout and true.
And when in the time of trial you hear the recreant say,
Shooting his coward lips at us, "You shall have had your day;
For all your state and glory shall pass like a cloudy wrack,
And here some other flag shall fly, where flew the Union Jack."
Why tell him a hundred thousand men would spring from these sleepy farms,
To tie the flag in its ancient place with the sinews of their arms;
And if they doubt you and put you to scorn, why you can make it plain
With the tale of the gallant Lincoln men and the fight at Lundy's Lane.

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*Note: Abner, the young Canadian hero of the story.

The Right Reverend Dr. James F. Sweeny.
Lord Bishop of Toronto.

THE SUBJECT AND THE EMPIRE.

An Address by the RIGHT REV. J. F. SWEENY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 9, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I esteem it a very great privilege and a very great honour, indeed, to have been invited to address you on this occasion. I am deeply sensible that in addressing bodies of men there is a great responsibility upon the one who speaks. I realize that upon many grounds, and chiefly, because of the office which I have the privilege of holding. I regard a Bishop as a man with a message, and because he is a man with a message, yes, many messages, responsibility begins with him in the selection of his message; it extends over the preparation of his message; and it covers the delivery of his message; and therefore, having such a variety of men, many men and many minds; present on this occasion I feel that my responsibility is indeed a very heavy one.

I suppose that your Empire Club helps, just as does the Canadian Club, of which I have the honour to be a member, in the creation, maintenance, and advancement of the Imperialistic idea in this Canada of ours. At the present time of British history, and the present time of crisis in the old Motherland, at the present time of growing development and prosperity, and our temptations to forget the great, illustrious, and noble heritage that comes from the Old Land, I cannot conceive of greater work than the Empire Club is called upon to do under the historical conditions of the present hour.

Empire Club! Do you know that when you stop to think of this phrase it fairly staggers one—just that very thought of all that is contained in the one single word, "Empire." How our fancy and our imagination run riot over the vast possessions of this great and mighty thing which we call the British Empire; over 12,000,000 of square miles; how it touches all climates and all soils under the sun; how it embraces representatives of almost every nation under heaven; how it takes in territory from the far north down to the sunny isles of the Pacific, and from the remotest Orient to the remotest Occident; how it embraces in its aggregate of population four hundred millions of souls of the family of men—a quarter of the entire family of mankind, and having in that aggregate representatives, as I have said to you, of red men in the North, of those that are black and swarthy in Africa, of those that are fair in Europe, and fair in this Canada of ours—all bound together by the strongest *esprit-de-corps* and uniting the peoples of this great Empire together in love and loyalty and attachment to the throne and person of Edward VII., God bless him!

Empire Club! Why, my dear friends and members of this Club, when one stops to think of the great and colossal statistics which this word stands for in the trade and commerce of the world, in the revenue, in the import and export, in the maintenance of standing army, in the provision for naval defence for the protection of trade routes and commerce, one is simply amazed to think of the tremendous amount of money, not in dollars, but in pounds, which it represents at the close of the year when the finances of this great Empire are totalled into the billions. Now, so great and so mighty a theme as this, I think, sometimes swamps the idea of the relation of the subject to the Empire, and there, when I was asked to choose a topic, a title, a theme, upon which to speak to you this afternoon, as I stood and faced the mighty figures of Empire presented to me in the *Statesman's Year Book* for last year, I just felt that it might be a good thing for me, and perhaps for somebody else, if I were to speak of the unit, of the individual, of the isolated subject in relation to this vast aggregate which we call the Empire.

Now, man stands as a centre of concentric circles; for example, the domestic circle, the social circle, the business circle, the civic circle, the Provincial, and the Dominion, and in this instance, the great outlying circle of the Empire. It seems to me that one of the definitions of duty is that man should reach out and touch every one of these circles, and discharge the duties which these circles lay upon him, as a sober responsibility of his life. You know perfectly well that there are a great many men that never get beyond the unit of the centre. They never get beyond their own self-centred life, the little narrow horizon of their own ego. Their pronouns are "I" and "my" and "me," and they wot not of any other. Their philosophy of life is that simplest of simple philosophy. It begins, it continues, it ends, with the philosophy of number one. They do not stretch out their hands to help those other concentric circles by which they are surrounded. I tell you, in truth, they are only one degree above the law of the jungle, above the law of the deep blue sea. Now, we expect more than that of men. We expect that they will reach out and touch all these concentric circles, and that finding upon the surface of them certain duties that have to be discharged, and obligations that belong to them, they will, in a manly fashion, in an unselfish fashion, stretch out and touch and discharge those duties, because they are duties that they owe to God, to themselves, and to their fellowmen. And so we pass over the circles of these different relationships, and come to speak of the relationship of the individual to this larger circle of the Empire.

Taking first of all the subject simply as a man, we look at him in the abstract as a man—a man with physical strength, a man with intellectual power, a man with moral perception, clean life, a clear conception of his duty. Gentlemen, does not such a man as that give of those qualities that are in him, contributing his quota to the tone and to the uplift of the Empire? Then, if you super-add certain thoughts and certain facts to this man, just as a man, as I have described him, if he is a business man, then the conscientiousness with which he discharges his business, the care and the thought and the thoroughness that he throws into it, these are all contributions that he makes to the tone, and the uplift, and the influence of the Empire. If he is a professional man, if he is a doctor, if he is a lawyer, if he is a parson, then the quality of the work, whether it be in the law office, whether it be by the bed-side of the sick and dying, whether it be in the pulpit preaching the everlasting Gospel, he is contributing of his very best to the tone, to the quality, to the influence and the uplift of this great mass of what we call the Empire. If he is a soldier brave, if he is a sailor, if he belongs to His Majesty's forces on land or on sea, with that strong spirit of patriotism, with that strong sense of discharging his duty which rests upon every loyal British soldier and British sailor's heart, he will be contributing his quota of bravery and courage and pluck, and he will, in that measure, be lifting up the Empire before all the nations upon earth.

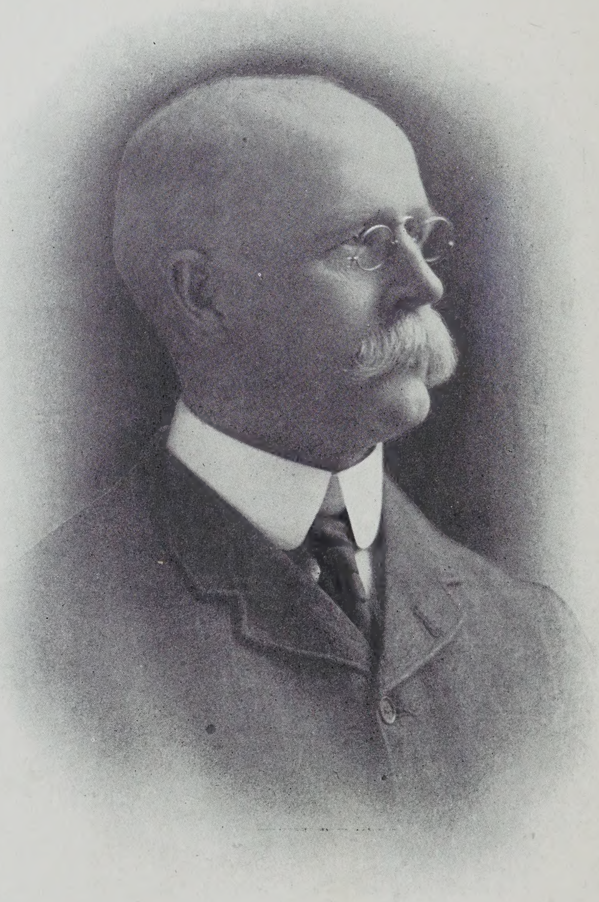
I take it, gentlemen, that that is one of the aims and objects of this Empire Club. Every man who belongs to this Club wants to see the Empire of which he is a part and a unit, wants to see the Empire which he loves so loyally, maintain its prestige and maintain its power and maintain its advance over not only the empires of the past, but all other possible empires of the present and of the future. And so I say that having such an Empire as we have, made up of units such as I have tried to describe them, as they ought to be in the ideal, and thank God, many of them are in actual life, I say we can notice that all other great world empires of the past, that of the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Greek, the Macedonian, and the Roman, all pale into insignificance before the greatness and prestige and power of our own beloved Empire. Now, what can the individuals of a Club, such as yours, do for the maintenance, for the fostering, for the furthering of the thoughts and ideals which belong to such a splendid Club as this? I think that they can do two or three things. I think that they must try and teach this young Canada of ours to think Imperially. That is one of the first things to do. We hear a great deal about Canadian national life. I am sure it is a very good thing, but we must never forget that the Canadian national life is only a phase, and only an aspect of the larger life of the Empire to which this great Canada belongs, and always must belong. We hear, I say, amongst the youth of our country, a great deal of this Canadian national patriotism. It is indeed a good thing, but I take it, that the duty of such a Club as this is to increase the Imperial sentiment in our country, and particularly amongst the youth of our country.

Gentlemen, I cannot see anything short of disintegration of this great Imperial bond, this great Imperial ideal and fact of history in the future, unless all these dependencies, and possessions, and colonies, and Dominions, and Commonwealths that belong to this family compact, are bound and welded together by the spirit, by the sentiment of Imperial thought. And, so I say, get out and talk amongst the youth of the country. Do not check them as they talk grandiloquently, and as they talk of the splendid possibilities of this Canada of ours. It is well that they should do so. It is well that they should realize the splendid inheritance that God has given to them, but never let them stop at that. Let them feel and let them believe and speak and think and act, that as to this Canadian nation, it is only a part, a very important part it is true, of the larger idea of the Empire. Circulate your literature; try and see if you cannot get into the schools of our country, something that is broad and grand, and elevating, concerning the origin, the present position, and the great and vast destiny of this Empire of which we are a part.

Can you not, too, as a Club, offer prizes for these young people, for the very best essays upon Imperial themes and topics; prizes for those who are learning the art of painting and drawing, for example, and the very best themes, some of the great crises of history of the past, which have contributed to the up-building, and the solidarity of the great Empire, at the present time. Try and see if this Empire Club cannot stand for something more than mere sentiment in the community; something that is practical, and something that will be stimulating where the individual subject of the Empire is concerned, and particularly where the youthful subject of this great Empire is involved. Yesterday there came into the

Synod Office a very interesting book. It is called the *Keystone of Empire.* Possibly you have heard of it: no doubt some of you have read it. It concerns Francis Joseph, the great Emperor of Austria, and I am sure that when I get a few hours time I shall devour every page of that interesting book; but, alas, it is like a great many other books that reach me: they come, I simply have time to look at them, promise myself the pleasure of reading them; and then the great army of engagements comes along, and each one insists that I must give him my whole and undivided attention until he is disposed of, and therefore I do not know when I shall get at this *Keystone of Empire.*

But, I want to say to you, gentlemen, Members of this Club, simply this: the keystone of any Empire, and above all, the keystone of our great and glorious Empire must be that righteousness which exalteth a nation, even as, if you read history aright in the past and cast your eyes upon the decaying and decadent nations of the present, you will find that it is sin which is a disgrace to any people, which is the secret of the downfall of the mighty peoples of the past. Let every single soul of this great Empire say to himself, "Civis Brittanicus sum;" of the greatest Empire that history has ever known and seen; of the greatest Empire upon which Almighty God has smiled and poured out his blessing in rich largeness; and let every one of us see that there is a great deal of the "noblesse oblige" in Imperial patriotism when we are worthy of this citizenship, of being a subject of so great an Empire. Let us be conscious, my brothers, of this one great truth, (and this is my clerical message to you) that it is as true to-day as it was true when it was said of the House of Eli; it is as true of the national and Imperial life of history, as of the individual; "they that honour Me I will honour, and those that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed."



THE HON. A. B. MORINE, K.C.

THE PARLIAMENTARY CRISIS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

An Address by the HON. A. B. MORINE, K.C., delivered before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 16, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The Liberal Party in Great Britain appeals to the Electors for support on two main issues: principally, on a cry against the House of Lords; subordinately, upon the Budget; sectionally, upon Home Rule for Ireland. The Liberal-Unionists ask support upon a national policy of Tariff Reform, including protection against foreign importation, and preference to Colonial products. It is the principle rather than the details of such a policy which the public is asked to support, and such details as have been proposed may be regarded rather as illustrations than as planks in a platform. As this subject has been before the public for several years and presents few new features, it is not proposed to discuss it in this paper.

The cry against the House of Lords has a twofold aspect:

> 1. Denunciation of its conduct in rejecting the Budget proposals of the Government, and,
>
> 2. A demand for the reform of its constitution, as being inherently bad.

The latter is, of course, an old cry, but it has been endowed with new vitality by the recent offence which the Lords have given to the Liberals. The cries are essentially different in character; one, practical, that the House of Lords has done a wrong thing, the other, theoretical, that the House of Lords is improperly constituted. The House of Lords represents a class, and therefore is fundamentally opposed to democratic theories, but the question whether class representation should longer be permitted is obviously different from the question whether this particular class representation has done wrong things of which the rejection of the Budget is a specific instance. The theoretical question we pass by to-day, to permit an inquiry into the grounds upon which the Liberals assail, and the Liberal Unionists defend, the Lords for rejecting the Budget.

The Lords, say the Liberals, acted (1) from self-interest; and (2) unconstitutionally, having no right to reject a money bill. The Budget contained provisions for taxing land values; the Lords include the greatest landlords; ergo, say the Liberals, the Lords were actuated chiefly by a desire to escape taxation. To this, various replies are made:

1. That many Lords who voted against the Budget are not great landlords, that the great landlords are few, that the only landlords directly affected by the land taxes are very few, being only those holding urban lands, not rural lands.

2. That the Budget is opposed on principle by many thousands of people who have no land interest, and that the charge of self-interested motives is merely a slander cunningly devised for political motives. It is also said that the Budget framers and supporters are as liable as its opponents to be actuated by self-interest, though not so transparently a target for the charge, since the Budget was framed for the political profit of a party, and is based on confiscation of the property of the few for the benefit of the many. "If we defend our property by our votes," say the Lords, "you seek by your votes to confiscate our property to your profit." The impartial onlooker may sum up the charge and counter-charge in this way—both sides are so situated that self-interest may actuate the conduct of some members of either or both, but that it has in fact actuated either is not, and cannot, be proven. The supporters of each will continue to make the charge against the other without regard to evidence, and in most cases with the self-interest of political favour to their own sides.

The impartial critic may also be permitted to say that while to the question—should the House of Lords be reformed—the fact that it does or does not allow itself to be unduly influenced by class or personal interests is a matter of vital import, and that if it were proven to be so influenced, the need of reformation would be conclusively established; yet the Lords exist under the constitution for the due and proper representation of a class, and the question of motive in rejecting the Budget is not vital to the enquiry did the Lords act constitutionally, and were the Budget proposals worthy of the support of the Electorate? The Lord Chancellor admitted the legal right of the House of Lords to reject a money bill, but denied its constitutional right to do so, meaning, apparently, that nothing in Statute or Common Law forbade such a rejection, but that the practice not to reject, extending over a very long number of years, amounted to a constitutional prohibition against rejection. It was replied that what is legal is constitutional, that if a thing be unconstitutional it is illegal also, and that if rejection has not been practised it has been merely because constitutional practice requires a very strong reason for such conduct by the Lords, and that such reason has not hitherto occurred. The Lords cannot amend a money bill, but they may reject, and whether a case justifying rejection has arisen is a matter of fact which can only be settled in view of all surrounding circumstances when occasion arises. To say that the Lords may never amend or reject a money bill would be equivalent to changing the Constitution of Parliament by providing that the King and Commons may enact money bills, and that the passage of such bills through the Lords is an unnecessary formality. Such a practice might be convenient, but clearly it is not now the Law of the Realm.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, has been forced into an attitude of hostility to the exercise by the House of Lords of the function hitherto attributed to it. Yet in a speech a few years ago he said: "The functions which are claimed for the House of Lords are merely these—first of all, that it should act as a revising authority over the details of legislation; and, in the next place, where there is a reasonable doubt whether, upon any question, the House of Commons is representing the majority of the electorate, the House of Lords should have the power of interposing such delay as will enable that doubt to be authoritatively resolved." The business of the House of Lords, he continued, is "to correct slovenly and check precipitate legislation." "The House must be keen to watch and careful to follow the steady set as distinguished from the transient trend of national sentiment." The House that did these things and was also "ready to defer to the clear manifestation of the popular will is an ideal House of Lords."

In justification of their exercise of the power of rejection the Lords say that the Budget contained proposals that had no mandate of the people behind them, wherefore rejection merely acts as a referendum to the popular vote; and it is very clear that if the Budget be sustained at the polls it will, when again presented to the Lords, be passed unanimously. The Lords say, "We do not oppose a class interest to the mass interest; we afford, on the contrary, an opportunity to the masses for a direct expression of their will." It is also alleged by the Lords that the so-called Budget Bill had other measures tacked to it, contrary to sound parliamentary practice, viz., a liquor licensing bill, and a land bill, and that these measures should have been included in separate bills, their right to amend or reject which would have been beyond all question.

New Taxes. It is proposed to graduate the income tax for a second time and the death duties for a third time, and the effect is to increase very largely the amount of capital confiscated by the State. It is objected that the income tax was instituted as a war tax, and is now made a peace tax, and that the effect is to confiscate the capital of the country to meet current expenditure, thereby seriously endangering public prosperity as well as doing gross injustice to individuals. These, say opponents, are not merely wrong in principle, but have become onerous class burdens. As the principle, or lack of it, shown in these taxes is not new, and only the rate is in question, I shall not deal with them now.

Liquor Licenses, etc. In 1906-7 Excise and Customs' duties on spirits, wine and beer, and licenses of publicans, yielded £38,628,000. The new proposals are expected to produce £4,200,000 extra, viz., Imported spirits, £400,000; Domestic spirits, £1,200,000; and liquor licenses, £2,-600,000. As the amount received in 1906-7 from publicans was £1,720,000 the increase from licenses amounts to 150 per cent. more than the total amount received in 1906-7. In 1907-8 the revenue derived from brewers' licenses was £4,800. Under the new proposals the amount expected is £420,000. Distillers' licenses which have paid £1,940 are expected to pay £20,000. Hitherto the license duty on fully licensed houses varied from £4, 10s. where the premises were of less than ten pounds annual value, and £60 on premises of £700 and upwards. The new proposals are designed to impose a license duty on fully licensed houses at a uniform rate of fifty per cent. of the annual value, but in areas having a population between ten and fifty thousand the uniform rate is not less than £20. In a town containing a population of 100,000 the minimum rates will be £35. It is admitted that the effect of these minimum rates will be to extinguish many of the smaller licenses throughout the country. The duties on brewers' licenses and liquor licenses are tremendously increased, and with reference to liquor licenses the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in his Budget speech: "I propose to take the opportunity of revising the whole system of Excise liquor licenses, a system which is at present full of confusion, and anomalies both in law and practice, and to place it upon a simple and economical basis." It is this object, not collecting taxation merely, but of changing a system, which makes it possible for the Lords to say, "You are tacking a licensing bill to a money bill, and thus justifying our rejection of the whole bill, for a Licensing measure would clearly be open to amendment by this House."

Land Value Taxes. The new land value taxes excite the most support and opposition. Twenty per cent. of the unearned increment of land is to be taken by the State, beginning with a valuation to be taken at once. There is to be a tax of one-half penny in the pound on the capital value of undeveloped land, and there is to be a ten per cent. reversion duty upon any benefit accruing to a lessor from the determination of a lease. On the enactment of the proposals all the land in the Kingdom is to be valued. By undeveloped land is meant land not built upon, or in *bona fide* use in some business, trade or industry other than agriculture, the value of minerals in the land not being included in the value of the land. Land in use for agricultural purposes is not to be taxed on its value for such purposes, but if it have a higher value for other purposes the excess would be taxable; a market garden near a city, for instance, if more valuable for a building site than a market garden would pay on the excess value. Parks, gardens, etc., open to the public pay no tax, nor is there any tax on one acre attached to a dwelling house, but large pleasure grounds would be taxable. The expression "agriculture" includes the use of land as meadow or pasture land or woodland, or for market gardens, nursery grounds, or allotments, and the expression "agricultural land" shall be construed accordingly.

1. On the transfer on sale of land; 2. On a lease for seven years or more; 3. On the death of the owner of land; there is proposed to be placed a duty called the Increment value duty, amounting to one-fifth part by which the value of the land has increased beyond its value at the time when the general valuation was made, or when it was last valued for duty. In the case of land held by corporate bodies a fresh valuation is to be made, and duty paid in 1914, and every fifteen years thereafter. The duty is assessed on the *site* value of the land, *i.e.*, not on the value of any structure on the land, or any improvements by the owner. The principle aimed at, apparently, is that the State shall share in the increase in the value of land not ascribable to the efforts of the owner, but to the growth of the country and locality in or about which the land is situated.

It is well to remark here that, contrary to general impression, the new land duties do not seem to be aimed at forcing a distribution of the land of monopolists into the hands of peasant proprietors, for agricultural land is not to be taxed. It should also be noted that the new land taxes are not levied at the Lords as such, or at landlords, as such, but merely at landlords of undeveloped lands, suitable for building purposes, and more valuable for that than for agricultural purposes. The essence of the objection made to them is not that they tax landlords as a class, or that they tax the wealthy as a class, but that they attack a particular class of landlord, who may or may not be a wealthy man, and a particular kind of investment, unfairly as compared with other investments. When making his Budget speech, Mr. Lloyd-George said:

> The first conviction that is borne in upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer who examines the land as a subject for taxation, is that in order to do justice he must draw a strong distinction between purely agricultural land and land which has a special value attaching to it owing to its nearness to an urban centre. In some parts of the country agricultural land has gone up, but taken all round it has not appreciated. The growth in value of urban sites is due to no expenditure of capital or thought on the part of the ground owner, but is entirely owing to the enterprising energy of the community. Where it is due to any expenditure by the urban owner himself, full credit will be given him in taxation. One of the worst evils of the system is that instead of reaping the benefit of the common endeavour, the community has to pay heavy penalties to the ground landlords for putting up the value of their land. There are other differences between these two classes of property which have a real bearing on the problem. There is a remarkable contrast between the attitude and policy adopted by a landlord towards his urban property and that which he generally assumes towards his agricultural property. On agricultural estates a considerable proportion of the rents is put back to fructify and improve the soil, or in the way of repairs. Urban owners recognise no such obligation. They spend nothing in building, in improving or in repairing, and are free from the ordinary social obligations which are acknowledged by every good agricultural landowner towards his tenants. The worst rural landlord in this respect is better than the best urban landowner. The urban landowner has no personal relations with his tenants such as the agricultural owner has. What agricultural landowner would think of

letting his land for a term of years on the condition that the tenant should pay a rent four or five times the value of the soil; that the tenant should then be compelled to build a house at his own expense in a certain way; that at the end of the term the tenant should have to hand over that house in good tenantable repair, free from all encumbrances to the landlord who has never spent a penny? There is not a landlord who would dream of imposing such outrageous terms on agricultural tenants. Yet these are the conditions imposed on people who have little choice in the matter. This is by no means an imaginary picture.

Speaking in London on June 24th, the Prime Minister said: "These land taxes are a toll levied by the community only on the added values which accrue to land, or rather to the owner of land, not through his own effort, enterprise or expenditure, but from social causes for which the community alone is responsible. They are not, therefore, taxes upon land; they are taxes upon the communal value which has been added to land by the existence and exertions of the State. . . . What is the objection in point of principle? Is there any? I have followed these debates with interest and attention, and I have only heard two. The first one is that this item or ingredient of unearned increase in value is to be found in other forms of property, as Mr. Balfour, in a burst of Socialism, declared the other night. That is the first argument, and the second argument is that if for national purposes you take, in the shape of taxes, that part, or some part at any rate, of the increment which is due to social causes you ought, as a matter of justice, when such a case arises, to compensate the owner of the property for the decrement due to like circumstances. I believe that those are the only two arguments which have been used in opposition to the principle and they can be each of them disposed of in one sentence. As regards the first, even if it be a fact, and I admit it is to some extent and in some cases a fact that there is an element of unearned value in other forms of property besides land, that is an argument not against taxing the unearned value when you find it there, but an argument in favour of taxing it in other cases also. As regards the second argument—the argument based on what is called the decrement—has any one ever heard of any system of taxation which is run upon those lines? You tax the man on his profits. If he does not make any profit there is nothing for you to tax, but have you ever heard a claim seriously put forward on the part of an income tax payer who has done well in years gone by, who suddenly says that the State should compensate him when he is losing?"

It is not so bad an argument as Mr. Asquith suggests that freedom from taxation of a portion of the people is a reason for not taxing the other portion, for surely we are justified in resisting taxation upon the ground that it bears upon a section or class only, and is not general and impartial in its application. His argument against allowance for decrement drawn from an illustration from the income-tax is unsound, for the income-tax is paid yearly on the actual income, not on a fixed maximum. Speaking at Bletchley Park, on August 14th, Mr. Asquith said: "In the first place we have set up at the cost of the State an elaborate system of valuation, the ultimate expenditure upon which will probably be much less than two millions sterling, and which consists, as far as our skill and foresight can go, of machinery which we believe will adequately protect every interest concerned, and which will throw upon those, the representatives of the State, the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue who are seeking to tax owners of land which continues to be properly subject to the tax, will throw upon them the burden of proving that it is land which falls within one of those taxable categories. Now, in the next place, we have supplemented that machinery of valuation by what I think everybody now agrees is a carefully-thought-out system of appeal. The original referee is a man appointed by a perfectly independent body, and from his decision—whether it be a decision upon a point of law or upon a question of fact—there shall be an appeal to the ordinary courts."

Objections to the Land Value Taxes. The time at my disposal will permit of an enumeration of some of the objections only to these land tax proposals:

Lord Rothschild: "The whole principle is vicious. The Ministers wish to establish the principles of Socialism and collectivism. The execution of the scheme is left to a secret irresponsible tribunal."

Lord Avebury: "Why is the land to be treated with such exceptional severity? It is already taxed more heavily than other property. Income derived from land pays more income tax than other income. Land bears heavy rates which do not fall on personal property; and yet it is treated in this Budget with exceptional and excessive severity. I cannot, indeed, believe that the Government realize how ruinous their proposals will be. My first objection is that the whole of the land will have to be valued involving several millions of valuations, on very complicated systems, and which will impose an enormous initial expense on owners of land, before anything accrues to Government. But, in the second place, if the Government officials are not satisfied, they are authorized to put any value they please on the land; there is to be no independent authority and no appeal; there is to be a new bureaucracy with absolutely arbitrary powers of taxation. Owners of land are to be taxed. not by Parliament, but by an army of petty autocrats, In the second place though, no doubt, land must contribute, the proposals in the Budgets are most unequal. Some land will be almost unaffected; most will be heavily taxed; as regards some the whole revenue will be taken by Government, and nothing left to the present owner. Many a family will be ruined; the value of mortgages will be severely affected, and their security greatly diminished. Take again the question of the unearned increment. It is surely very unjust to take a portion of the increase if the value rises, and not to bear any part of the loss if the value falls. Why is this to be done in the case of land? Why is land to be exceptionally treated? Such a proposal would be generally recognized as intolerable in the case of any other property."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain: "I turn to the increment value duties, and again I have to note the failure of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to redeem, what I thought was a promise—that he would protect the purchaser of land whose land had subsequently fallen in value against being charged increment duty on any recovery in value within the original price. That does not appear in the Bill. The Right Hon. gentleman confines the protection, such as it is, to property purchased within 20 years before the passing of the Act. Why before the passing of the Act? It is this kind of confusion of thought which seems to me to lie at the root of all this taxation. The Government appear to think, that the recent fall in value has been a wholly abnormal circumstance, never likely to recur. It is a daily and a yearly occurrence in one part of the country or another. It is not confined to twenty years before the passing of the Act; it will recur twenty years or two hundred years after the passing of the Act. Why limit it to twenty years before the passing of the Act? Why not have thirty years? If there is any argument on the subject that the longer a man has been out of his money the worse the speculation has been, the stronger the argument for relief. In assessment of land for taxation you make no allowance for loss of interest. But that is the first element of a business transaction which an investor in this class of property has to consider. He has to say to himself: 'If I purchase this property I shall have to accept an annual return for my money less than I should obtain from Consols or other first class security—one per cent. or two per cent. for an indefinite number of years—but I shall recoup myself in the first place by the absolute security which I hold, and, in the second place, by the prospect of a rise in the capital value when my land is ripe for development.' How do you beat him? You rob him of his security and then of one-fifth of the increased capital value. You call the rise in capital value 'unearned increment,' and having given a dog a bad name you proceed to hang him. It is not unearned increment but deferred interest as much a part of the consideration which the man bought as the land itself, or as any marketable security. That is not all. It was understood I think from the Budget speech that this tax was a tax upon ground landlords, a small and unpopular class, one of the minorities which the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Birrell) cheerfully says must suffer. The Bill taxes the same thing twice over; not merely the ground landlord, but the leaseholder, and it taxes him on the same increment on which it taxes the ground landlord. Indeed, it taxes it three times over, for it puts the same value again on death duties and assesses the death duties upon it without any allowance. Is that taxing fairly with due regard for Justice? To me it seems that to use taxation in this way is to forge out of your Budget the fiercest weapon of oppression."

Mr. Bonar Law: "Capital is being driven abroad not only on account of the Income Tax or death duties. In other countries a higher rate of interest can be obtained, but until the advent of this Government British citizens preferred to invest at home because they thought the security was greater. The Government are not only driving it away by the Income tax and the death duties, but by other parts of the Budget they are making the security of property of every kind less than it is in any civilized country of the world. The Budget is doing one good thing. It is driving capital out of the United Kingdom, but at least it is benefiting our Colonies. Canada is receiving a great deal of it. That is a great democratic country, but it is a sane country. It is a country of which Lord Rosebery said the other day, 'It is not yet a crime to accumulate wealth.' In Canada there is no income tax, and they are doing everything they can to attract capital, while this Government are doing everything they can to drive it out of the country."

In the debate on the Budget Mr. Redmond, Leader of the Irish Party, said: "From the Irish point of view this Budget is bad, unjust and oppressive. That case of Ireland has never been considered. In Ireland by reason of the extreme poverty of the country there is no way to raise money except by taxing the necessities of the people. So far from removing the injustice from which Ireland suffers under the existing financial relations this Budget intensifies it by the new whiskey taxes. The Government are discriminating in favour of England as against Ireland, for they are not taxing beer. They can only do financial justice to Ireland by exempting her from the operation of the whiskey taxes, and license duties." Mr. Bonar Law said: "I agree with the Honourable and learned member who has just spoken that the new spirit tax is unfair entirely to Ireland and Scotland, and that the principle on which it is based is entirely wrong." In a letter by Mr. Chamberlain, September 21st, it was said: "Mr. Asquith admits that Tariff Reform is the only alternative; it is, therefore, between the Budget and Tariff Reform that you have to choose—Tariff Reform which assists trade, increases employment, and secure a fair contribution to our revenue from foreigners using our market for the sale of their goods, and the Budget which exempts the foreigner from all contributions while casting fresh burdens on our own trade, hampering our industries, and taxing the commonest comforts of the people."

In conclusion, there seems little reason to hope that the result of the approaching elections will in any event amount to even a measurably intelligent and unprejudiced expression of opinion by the electorate on either the Budget proposals or Tariff Reform. The Irish Home Rulers who oppose the Budget proposals will support the Liberal party in return for a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, and logically so, perhaps, since not only will they thereby get that they most desire, but possibly it may include the liberty to make their own taxation, and Ireland therefore would not be affected by subsequent land taxation. Many who would otherwise vote against the Budget will vote Liberal because they wish "to down the Lords." Writing with reference to Nonconformists and the coming election, the *British Weekly* says: "Above all, we must know no question in the coming days save the question of the House of Lords, and we must be ready to vote with the candidate who supports us in that, even if in other things we cannot wholly go with him." Mr. John E. Redmond, speaking at the Nationalist demonstration in Dublin, said that for the first time in a century they had the greatest opportunity ever offered them to tear up and trample under foot the Act of Union.

On the other hand Tariff Reform may receive the support of many as an escape from the Budget, and the Socialism it seems to presage. It seems certain, however, that the chances for such victory are poorer than if the Lords had passed the Budget. "Down with the Lords" is an attractive cry to many, but it means many different things, and Premier Asquith has already declared that to his Government it means mending, not marring; reform, not abolition; though reform in his opinion implies a scheme whereby the House of Lords shall be subordinate, ultimately, to the Commons. Many will consider that abolition would be less costly, and not more fraught with danger. It may be well doubted if the Motherland has ever faced a greater crisis than the present, with four mighty issues tumbled together in one throw of the dice: Home Rule for Ireland; Abolition or Reform of the Lords: The Budget Proposals, and Tariff Reform.

"Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

THE ARCTIC REGIONS OF CANADA.

An Address by CAPTAIN J. E. BERNIER before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 20. 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am sure this is a great honour that you pay to a French-Canadian, and I feel it. Ever since we got melted together, I am one Canadian, body and soul, and there are many like me; we stand by our King. After leaving my home in 1866 and wandering around the world for no less than twenty years in different ships, because I was twenty years a sailor; after that time, being rather tired of going about in different climes, I made up my mind to retire. After having accepted a position ashore, I commenced to realize that I was going to dry up like an old fossil.

In 1880 the Imperial Government gave to Canada this immense territory in the North, but nobody made any efforts, not even the Canadian people, to use what England had given us. What they gave us had cost them nearly two million pounds, and the British exploration of the North cost seven hundred and fifty lives; and one hundred and fifty different expeditions were sent to search for one of the greatest men of that time—Sir John Franklin—who gave his life to find the North-West passage. When he was on the verge of doing it, within ninety miles of the American continent, his vessel was beset. He died on board, no doubt broken-hearted. But the expeditions that were sent in search of that great man have given to Canada all the Northern territory; and I am sure it was a simple work to follow these great men who came from the other side in search of Sir John Franklin, and to-day, I bring to you the records of my expeditions.

So, it was very simple for me to follow their steps. It is so that we know to-day what they have done, and we have material at our disposal, and we know the ice conditions, and the weather conditions, and I am sure it is just as easy to go to Melville Land to-day as it is to go to Liverpool—no difference at all. My little *Arctic* had a bad reputation at one time, but she has earned her epaulets. I made her listen to me the same as a child, because that is a condition a man must have. He must have a ship that will obey; he must know where he is going; and he must have a crew disposed to follow his commands. We need not fear when we know the ice; it moves twice a day sometimes; it is moving all the time, under different conditions; everything on earth is moving, and there is a reason for that. If you will look far enough ahead, it is all written. If you want to know when you are going amongst the ice, whether you can pass, all you have to do is to find how long it is going to remain open. If the ice is thick, of course it opens only now and then. If it is only three inches, it will open twice a day. It will release you. It is only a question of study. Do not put your foot forward unless you know where you are going; you must study your subject, and when you have mastered that subject, follow it fearlessly, and if you have perseverance enough you will come to the end.

These are relics which I have found upon different islands. My mission on the first trip was to go to Hudson's Bay, and leave some Royal Mounted Police at different quarters, and build two stations We did that. We carried out our orders to the satisfaction of the Government. We were fitted to go farther north, but owing to certain conditions we did not get the relief-boat in time. Therefore we were obliged to come back, but the stores on board were used on the second trip so that there was no loss. The second year my mission was to patrol the Northern waters of Canada, and annex the islands during the time that was at my disposal that summer. Going along Greenland, I went into Pond's Inlet to secure Esquimaux and to find the ice conditions before I went farther; also to meet some of those Scotch whalers who were supposed to be in that neighbourhood.

I did see them and collected dues for the Government for fishing. It is not a very large amount, but, in this case, we wanted these people to admit our claims—not only the Scotch whalers, we should not charge them anything because it was their fathers who had given us that land—we had this object in view and wanted Canadian control admitted. There were strangers fishing there, and we wanted them to give a little towards our expenses. It is nothing but right that we should have something as a recognition that these were our lands. I did manage to secure $500 from whaling licenses, and $1,000 for custom house duties on goods that were imported from the other side, and from the United States.

Well, Canada is growing, and mightily fast. We do not seem to realize it here except when we travel. Canada seems to be so great that we have not been able to get to the end yet, and is it possible to think that in the 20th century we won't be allowed to go to the farthest end of Canada? We must do it. It is our duty to make Canada now while we can—to make a greater Canada, and we can do it by claiming two islands that were sighted by those great men who, like Dr. Cook and Peary, are supposed to have gone and discovered the Pole. Well, gentlemen, when I came here some six or seven years ago, I did mention that I wanted to get to the Pole, and I proposed two plans—one to go walking over the ice, up to the Pole and back, for glory. I furnished half the money I had, and I was giving my time to the people of Canada for nothing; that shows you that I was in earnest. I could give no more, but I offered that, and they did not think it was worth while. Perhaps they were right; perhaps to go to the Pole only for glory, would not be worth what it cost; but in the North we have a good deal of spunk and time will prove it. It has already proved that we have got all these Northern lands annexed. Of course, I did not submit only one plan, but two. The second was a drifting plan to take a ship and put it in the ice, and let her drift with natural conditions, and during that time she would be a perfect observatory. We want an observatory to take soundings and find out what there is during that long drift from ocean to ocean.

When I did submit these plans you do not suppose for a moment that I was not prepared to carry them out —that I had not studied the question. Do you think I would risk my life and the lives of those with me to go about that way on no prepared plan? Oh no! No, sir. I am not in that habit. I am in the habit of going from one part to another. I wanted to have the honour of reaching the Pole for Canada, and at the same time of reaching the islands and giving them to Canada, and if any were discovered to annex them. They were ours; they were given to us by Britain on the 1st of September, 1880. We have annexed them—we want the people to settle there now! I am glad that you approve of that because progress moves not only westward but northward too. Therefore it is a northwest course and that is what we are doing. Immigration is going northwest. We are following the setting sun; we are running towards the light; we are inclined to go that way; and, in doing so, when we scratch the ground we find something in it. In northern Ontario, not so very long ago, there was nothing to speak of. Now, to-day, what do we see? Silver, as much as you can take out of the ground. Therefore, Canada is to-day, I consider, one of the greatest countries in the world. Because you have vast, immense places, where you can search for something, and is it possible to think that God did not put on earth in the far north what is good for man to live on?

Everywhere I have been there is something for man to live on. Even on Melville Island I found thousands of musk-ox and deer. We killed no less than 24,000 pounds of fresh meat during our stay there, and we spared many herds because we could not utilize them. We did not kill a single animal we could not use; we left them for those who come after us. I found an American gentleman in the North who had been hunting musk-ox and deer, and one fine night in Baffin Land, inside a bay, I noticed a small light. It was then about

11 o'clock at night, and I made for the light and when I got there I found an unknown schooner, *The Jenny,* from Newfoundland. And I sent the second officer to find out and pay my compliments to the Commander of that vessel, because at that time of the night I did not want to trouble him. The Captain came on board with my letters and that was a good find. And at the same time Mr. Harry Whitney, of New York, came on board and commenced to tell me of all the game he had killed, and after he was through I said, "Will you have a glass of wine?" We talked for a while, and I said, "Will you have a cigar, sir?" And afterwards I said, "Now that we are through I would like to have a private talk with you." I said, "Now, according to our statutes and laws you are entitled to get your license and I can give you a license for the sum of fifty dollars." He looked at me. "Well," I said, "I am the representative of the Canadian Government, and here are my credentials." I showed that I had taken possession of Baffin Land. There were the papers of the land, and he did pay. And his cheque was paid in time in New York. I am sure they are welcome to hunt in our country—under license—the same as you are in theirs. We have an immense field of wealth. All that remains for us to do is to scratch the ground and find what we want. There is almost everything there that a man could want.

The first year we devoted our time to the Hudson's Bay. I may tell you that Hudson's Bay never freezes during the winter, this immense Canadian sea, because it is an inland sea. For a good many months of the year the Straits are frozen, therefore, it is an inland sea and it is not frozen in the winter. It is navigable five months of the year, but the great drawback is the Strait. It is navigable for suitable ships built with a view to meeting ice, sometimes of striking frozen water, and I must say this, there is a good deal more danger attached to striking frozen water than water that is not frozen. Tramps, that is, ships that are built for all kinds of travel are not suitable for that Strait for the reason that if they happen to make a mistake, or they strike the ice a little too hard and knock a hole in the ship, she is in danger if she is not built with water-tight compartments. If the ships are suitably built, there is no doubt you will have a great outlet that way, because the time is not far distant when there will be so much produce in the West that you will have to send it that way, and all goods from the Mother Country will come in that way to supply the demand in the West, so you will have a return cargo.

All the rivers in the North are full of fish, and you can send fish to England, and as soon as your railways are built to the Hudson's Bay, you can bring fish here to Ontario, and have it cheaper than you have it now. The fishing in Hudson's Bay has been reduced very much from twenty years ago, but I am glad to say there is only one American vessel in the Strait. We met that vessel one year. We wandered alongside of her. During that year she caught seven whales, but now the whale fishery is much reduced from what it used to be. Whales are gone to the other side, that is, they have gone through Lancaster Sound, Barrow Strait, Melville Sound, McClure Sound, and on the other side the American whaler comes in from San Francisco, calls in at Herschell Islands, and still proceeding eastward on our territory, she goes as far as Bank Land and Victoria Island. Inside of the Strait they winter sometimes at Cape Haterass and deal with the Esquimaux, selling their trash for skins. Their revenue has been about forty thousand dollars per ship. Now I think it is time that our American cousin should be looked after. That is, he should be asked for that little fifty dollar bill for the present, until such time as we see fit to have a close season, and that I would advise as soon as you can make up your mind to have a close season in those northern waters. In annexing those lands we have annexed probably in the neighbourhood of eight thousand Esquimaux, and when I took possession of Bank Land on the ninth of November, the King's birthday, I told them that they had become Canadians and therefore they were subject to our laws. Well they could not see that, but I tell you they saw it when they came on board my vessel to a dinner to which I had invited them, and they had everything they wanted, and then they commenced to realize that it was a good thing to be a Canadian.

I told them, "If you want to exchange your products we will give you guns and ammunition, and we will treat you kindly, but for that, you have to respect this great man that I showed them, whose photo was in my cabin—Sir Wilfrid Laurier." One of them asked me if he was my father. I said "No, my father was a smaller man than that," but, I said, "That man holds in his hand to-day everything that belongs to Canada; whatever he says goes; if his Government says we are going to do a thing it is done, because he has the power. He is exactly like a captain when he is on board ship; he can do what he likes but you must remember that he must give an account of himself when he comes home." And it is exactly the same with the Government; they have to render to the public an account of what they have done. I am proud that the present Government has had occasion for striking towards the North. I did work out this problem long ago. If I had come sooner, very likely I might have been farther ahead, but I did not want to come before the Government to ask any help before I was convinced that my plans were correct, and it was only when Nansen returned that I said, "Yes, my plans are now fully developed, and there is the proof; and if I put my ship in the ice, I will come out;" and since that time I have been before the Canadian people from Vancouver to England. I have lectured in England; I am not much of a lecturer; I am more of a worker. Yes, I can do any amount of that.

When I was in England I lectured before the Royal Colonial Institute, and my plans were approved by all the Members, and especially by the President of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Clements Markham; but, he said, "You have come in the worst time; we are fitting an expedition to find the South Pole, and therefore we leave to Canada the task of going to the end of your country. "But," he said, "I am proud to see a Canadian here who wants to undertake that task, because there are some doubts as to whether land or water is there."

If there was land, and our Government had put our flag on it, it would have remained there, but now, as I predicted, there is no less than two thousand fathoms of water. When I considered the size of Greenland, I concluded there must be a hole in the North, and so there is. And we ask Greenland "How high are you?" And it answers, "I am eleven thousand feet high," and therefore we must look for a deep hole in that North, and we have proved to-day that Commander Peary has sounded twenty miles from the Pole, and he found no bottom at fifteen hundred fathoms. It is not so important that we put up our flag at the Pole, because it would remain there only a few hours; it would drift to the eastward, and do not be surprised in a couple of years from now if the records left by Peary and Cook are found when they have drifted towards the east coast of Greenland, and what story will these records tell? No more than what is written inside; but if we put our flag up in the North on an island, the farthest north and leave it there, the records will be found many years afterward, as with some records here, that I found that were left in 1819 and 1820 by that great explorer, Sir William Parry.

These great seamen of England, our forefathers, who actually were the cause of our owning that Northern country to-day were enticed by money compensation. There was an amount put up by the British Government for the one that would go past the 110th meridian, and that was won by Parry when he passed Cape Bounty. At that time the English government offered £25,000 for the North-West passage, and two years ago I wanted to have permission to make that North-West passage, if I saw the chance; but the permission was not given to me. The present Government could not see their way clear to risk forty-three lives and the good little *Arctic* to undertake a passage of which we had very little information. But, gentlemen, on this last trip I sailed half-way through that North-West passage, and there was nothing but beautiful water ahead of me. When I stood at the mast-head and called my officers, one by one, and showed them the North-West passage, I had a feeling that I should have gone through. My ambition was on one side, pushing me that way, and duty on the other. When I went down into my cabin and read my instructions I could not see my way clear to risk those lives in undertaking a thing which the Government did not instruct me to do. My instructions were to take possession of Bank Land, not the North-West passage. The time had not matured, but now we have more details, and the reason I come before you is to know your feelings. Are we going now to patrol the waters from ocean to ocean? Are we going to take possession of land as far north as we know to-day? When these men like Peary and Cook have sighted lands, I think it is our duty to proceed and put our flag on the farthest island. It is for the people of Canada to say, and I am at their disposal for that. (Applause.)

Is it necessary that I should give the names of the islands that I have put the flag on? We have planted our flag on Baffin's Land, Violet Island, Griffith's Island, North Coronet, Bankland, Victoria Island, King William Island, and many others. On the first of July last year, on Confederation Day, I had a slab made and on that slab I wrote, "This memorial is erected here to-day to commemorate the taking possession of all the Arctic Archipelago." I was doing a wholesale business, taking possession for Canada of all lands and islands to the eastward of the international line between Alaska and Canada on the 141st meridian as far north as 90 degrees north. The Pole was not mentioned because it is an invisible point, but 90 degrees north, that is a quarter of the globe, and I claimed all that land for Canada as a whole. It seems that the United States has agreed to that, because she says that we are mistress of all the lands to the North.

There are yet two little islands here on the map, but I am inclined to believe that they are only one by what I know at present. It was sighted by Peary two years ago and sighted again by Dr. Cook, but all he has of it is some photographs, and I have asked him to allow me to have some prints of them so that I can really learn when I go North if he has been there. (Laughter.) At the present moment these two islands are the only ones that we know of where the flag of Canada has never been placed, and it is for the people of Canada to say if it is their wish that it should be there. Now that we have got this immense Arctic Archipelago, we have to maintain a patrolling service, not so expensive as it is said that we have been, because we are accused of spending too much money. Well, sir, our second voyage cost $34,000, and on this trip, because we were a little larger number, we spent $46,000 for 46 men. You can see how much we had to spend; we had to pay those men. We spent 14 months in the North. There are a good many who would not go for that.

There are immense fisheries on Baffin's Land, especially at the south end toward Cumberland Gulf. There are several rivers which are teeming with fish, and I think a good business could be started in the salmon industry. There is an immense number of seals, but there is not so much value in seals as in salmon. Taken as a whole, there is room for a good many Canadians. As to the minerals of that country, I would advise the present Government to send on every trip that we go north, somebody who would study the conditions of the land, because a sailor does not know anything about the land. He does not know the value, could not tell the difference between a valuable stone and one that was not valuable. Therefore, it is too much to ask a seaman to undertake that duty. The officers of a ship going to that northern country should be men of experience, each able to do his part at the wheel. Then you bring your result from every officer of that trip, which shall be more than the value of the money that you spent. If we maintain our northern patrolling every year, we will find something which will be valuable, and which will repay Canada for its output and expense.

Gentlemen, I appreciate highly what you have done for the French-Canadians, and there are thousands like me. All they want is the opportunity to show that they are loyal to Canada and the King, and I have left his portrait up there in the cold. I thank you, Mr. President, and all of you, for your kind attention to me, and to forgive me if my speaking is not what it ought to be.

SOME OF THE TRIUMPHS OF MODERN MEDICINE.

An Address by PROFESSOR LEWELLYS F. BARKER, M.D., LL.D., of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 5, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

All experience has taught us that properly to judge the significance of events we must not stand too near them. The year just behind us, for example, would seem, to those of us who have but now passed through it, destined to be especially remembered for at least some of its happenings, and yet many of its developments are doubtless far less important than we think them. It seems scarcely probable, however, that we make an over-estimate when we regard as truly epochal events in human history (1) the definite adoption of aerial flight into our system of transportation; (2) the discovery of the North Pole, and (3) the downfall of Turkish absolutism. Though the figures of Orville and Wilbur Wright, Louis Bleriot, Count Zeppelin, Commander Peary and Chevket Pasha may loom larger to us on account of our proximity than they will to those who follow us, it seems reasonable, I think, to believe that the new world-facts for which the names of these men stand, are highly important ones, to which our race is not likely soon to become oblivious.

If we go back a little further than the last year and include the last half century or more it must be borne in upon every one of us that we are living in a truly remarkable age. In the few minutes that are allotted to me for these remarks it is not my purpose to touch in any general way upon the wonders of the age, on the contrary, I desire to limit what I have to say to some brief comments upon the advances made by the branch of knowledge with which I am most familiar, namely, Modern Medicine. In the last century mankind has made more progress (1) in understanding the nature of disease, (2) in finding out how to prevent disease, and (3) in discovering cures for disease, than had been made in all time preceding. This great progress has been due to the growth of the biological, physical and chemical sciences, and the application of the methods of these sciences to medical problems by men imbued with the scientific spirit. Observations and experiments have become ever more accurate and fruitfulness has kept pace with precision. A long series of *post mortem* examinations on patients who had been carefully studied by physicians at the bedside, had given us an idea of the anatomical basis of disease which, though it was a necessary preliminary to the study of the causes of disease which was to follow, for a time made medical men somewhat hopeless about prevention and more so about cure.

The researches of Pasteur and Koch in the last quarter of the last century started an entirely new era in our knowledge of the causes of infectious diseases. The discovery that this group of diseases is due to parasitism, to infection of the body by minute vegetable organisms, the bacteria, or to invasion of the body by microscopic animal organisms, the protozoa, formed the broad and fruitful basis for the development of modern preventive measures against infectious processes. Once the causes of such diseases were known and once we had become familiar with the extra-corporeal habitations of the parasites, the way was opened up for finding out the mode of infection or invasion and for prevention. Preventive medicine had, it is true, scored two great triumphs before these studies were made. I refer to (1) the wonderful discovery by Jenner of vaccination against smallpox made toward the end of the eighteenth century, and (2) Captain Cook's application of Lind's methods to the prevention of scurvy.

The great series of triumphs was, however, to follow upon etiological studies made by men trained in bacteriology and parasitology. A brief survey of some of the more important results achieved will convince you of the enormous progress which has marked the years since 1876. Among the diseases of known bacterial origin the following are now classed among the preventable diseases:—Tuberculosis, diphtheria, tetanus, Malta fever, Bubonic plague, puerperal fever, wound infection, summer diarrhoea of children, Asiatic cholera, typhoid fever, and the venereal diseases (gonorrhœa and syphilis). Among the diseases due to protozoa which have been studied and in which the mode of infection is known and preventable may be mentioned malaria and sleeping sickness. Of diseases like yellow fever, hydrophobia, and smallpox which are preventable, though the virus is as yet unknown, I shall have something to say later on.

Tuberculosis formerly slew one out of every eight human beings; nearly every person who lives to his thirtieth year carries somewhere in his body some healed or unhealed focus of tuberculous infection. Now that the bacillus which causes it is known, and the portals of entry of the bacillus into the human body have been discovered; now that we fear a tuberculous ancestry less than a tuberculous propinquity; since we have refined methods of diagnosis which permit us to recognize the existence of a tuberculous infection in its very early stages, and have learned the curative effects of sanitary living (rest, good food, fresh air, wholesome surroundings), we are prepared for battle with this chief among the agencies of death. The public has joined the medical profession in the waging of this war against tuberculosis and a world-wide movement of prevention has been begun which bids fair to be successful. Within twenty years in those portions of the United States in which the causes of death are registered there has been a decline in the death rate from tuberculosis of about 30 per cent. When methods of prevention become more generally known and more perfectly applied the disease will diminish very rapidly and may ultimately be exterminated.

Diphtheria is a disease which, if we lived up to our knowledge, need scarcely be feared, though formerly it was one of the most terrible of scourges, destroying half of the persons it attacked. Following upon the discovery of its causative bacillus a mode of immunizing animals against it was worked out and Behring demonstrated that the introduction of some of the blood serum of an animal so immunized into the body of a person recently infected would rapidly cure the disease. More than this, if small quantities of this antitoxin are given to persons who have been exposed to the disease by contact they will not have diphtheria. As a curative agent this antitoxin has reduced the mortality of diphtheria from more than 50 per cent. to less than 10 per cent. The incidence of the disease has been greatly lessened since its cause has been found out. In New York city alone the death rate per year from diphtheria has been reduced by 3,000 (W. H. Park).

Tetanus or lockjaw was found to be due to an anærobic bacillus, *i.e.*, to one that does not multiply except when excluded from the air. This fact together with the prevalence of the spore forms of the bacillus in garden earth explains the frequency of the disease after deeply punctured wounds (*e.g.*, from rusty nails or from Fourth of July explosions in the dirty hands of small boys). To-day if an injury occurs which experience tells us is prone to be followed by tetanic infection, a dose of tetanus antitoxin promptly administered will surely prevent the development of the disease. Occasionally a life can be saved by this antitoxin after the symptoms of tetanus have appeared, but this agent is far more efficacious for prevention than for cure.

Malta fever, a long continued disease, common in the Mediterranean and found to be caused by a special coccal bacterial form, is controllable since it has been demonstrated that the vehicle of dissemination of the bacteria is the milk of goats. Bubonic plague, a disease which at intervals has swept over the whole world, familiar to all who recall their history as the terrible Black Death of Europe and the plague described by Pepys and Defoe, will never again devastate the more civilized portions of the earth. Due to a bacillus which is kept alive in the bodies of living rats and squirrels and transferred to human bodies largely through the bites of insects we have the cue for our protection.

Puerperal or child-bed fever, wholly misunderstood in its nature until Oliver Wendell Holmes demonstrated that it is a contagious disease brought to unfortunate women by the contaminated fingers of physician, midwife or nurse, has been found to be due to preventable bacterial infection. In former times the deaths from puerperal fever in maternity hospitals were appalling. From October, 1841, to May, 1843, in Vienna, of 5,139 women delivered no less than 829 died, and in Paris, in 1864, of 1,350 women delivered, 310 died. It was not surprising that women came to look upon the lying-in hospital as the "vestibule of death." Since the methods of antisepsis and asepsis were introduced by Sir Joseph Lister, based upon the bacteriological studies of Pasteur, the death rate in maternity hospitals has been steadily reduced until today it is only about 0.02 per cent. or 2 deaths in 10,000 cases!

The antiseptic and aseptic treatment of wounds, including those resulting from accident and also those due to surgical operations, not only reduced mortality directly but also, together with anæsthesia, extended enormously the possibilities of surgery. Before Lister's time a compound fracture of the leg meant only too surely death or amputation; since then recovery is almost certain with a retained limb. Farther, as Mr. Eliot has recently emphasized in his inspiring Ether-Day lecture (Oct. 16, 1909), asepticism and anæsthesia "have opened a great field of animal experimentation, which has already yielded invaluable additions to our knowledge of physiology, pharmacology and pathology" . . . They have been indispensable to the medical research of the last forty years." The summer diarrhoeas of children still kill an enormous number in the first three years of life, but a pure milk and water supply, cleanliness, fresh air and good nursing are rapidly reducing this mortality.

Asiatic cholera, capable as everyone knows of killing at a stroke a large proportion of the inhabitants of a great city, formerly, once started westward, was only too likely to encircle the globe in a huge pandemic. It has done its worst work; it will never again cause a national epidemic unless men forget what we now know or fail to make use of the knowledge we possess. The comma bacillus discovered by Koch lives only in certain media and is spread only in definite ways; public health officers can speedily detect its presence and, warning a community, can protect the inhabitants from infection. Note how speedily the disease was stamped out in Holland last summer after the introduction of the infective agent into Rotterdam by a ship from Russia. A few years ago had Rotterdam been so contaminated the disease would have spread like wild-fire through Holland, and over Eastern Europe, and American summer visitors would have found themselves unable to return home as they would have been imprisoned by quarantine regulations.

Typhoid fever, also due to a bacillus, which enters the body chiefly in impure water but sometimes in milk or other foods, is distinctly a preventable disease. In many places by providing a pure water and milk supply the disease has been almost eradicated. In the larger towns in Germany between 1877 and 1881 the average death rate per year from typhoid fever for every 100,000 people was 43.6; in 1906 this was reduced to only 6.1. The disease still prevails to a shameful extent in the United States and Canada. In the United States alone 100,000 people die of typhoid yearly. One out of every four American soldiers in the Spanish war contracted the disease.

The venereal diseases, gonorrhœa and syphilis, are due to bacteria—the former to a micrococcus, the latter to a spirochaete. These diseases do untold harm not only to men who contract them but also when insufficiently treated—and generally they are insufficiently treated—to their wives if they marry and to their children. If young men were taught the nature and danger of venereal infection much of it would be avoided and thousands of men, women and children would be spared months and years of misery. A large proportion of cases of sterility in men are due to gonorrhœa, and probably the majority of diseases peculiar to women requiring operation are due to gonorrhœa unwittingly communicated by husbands. It is believed now that general paresis and locomotor ataxia occur only in individuals who have had syphilis, contracted by themselves or inherited from a parent. The best preventive measure against venereal diseases is chastity; next to that regulation of prostitution; and, finally, the diseases may be prevented in the exposed by certain prophylactic measures. A very great deal of blindness in the newly-born is due to infection of the child's eyes with the gonorrhœal micro-organisms as it passes from its mother into the world. All this blindness can be prevented by instilling two drops of a weak solution of silver nitrate (1 per cent.) into the eyes of each new-born child.

Malaria, the bane of hot countries, the blight of the Roman Campagna, and one of the principal barriers to tropical development has been found to be due to minute animal parasites which live out one portion of their life cycle in a particular variety of mosquito, the other portion of it in human blood. No human being gets malaria unless bitten by an infected anopheles mosquito; no mosquito gets malaria except by feeding on the blood of a malarial human being. These facts permit us to control the spread of the disease. In regions where malaria exists in the mosquitoes we may destroy them or prevent men being bitten by them; if a malarial patient enters a region whose mosquitoes are not infected, he may be screened off until the parasites in his blood have been killed by the administering of quinine. The disease is preventable; by thorough application of the knowledge we possess it could probably be eradicated. The sleeping-sickness of Africa, due to an animal parasite, the trypanosoma, is transmitted to man by the bite of a fly. Prevent the Tsetse fly bite and you prevent trypanosomiasis and sleeping sickness. Tropical dysentery is a third disease due to a protozoa parasite, the amoeba coli taken in with impure water.

Turning now for a moment from those diseases due to bacteria and protozoa I must mention three diseases whose causal virus is unknown. Whatever their virus is, it must be extremely minute, as it will pass through a filter which will not permit known bacteria, and protozoa to pass. Smallpox is one of these, easily controllable by vaccination. In the 28 years before vaccination was practised in Sweden the annual death rate from smallpox was 2,050 for every million of population; in the 40 years following the introduction of vaccination the annual death-rate was only 158 per million. In the Prussian army there has not been a single death from smallpox since the enforcement of the vaccination law of 1874. Hydrophobia or rabies is a second disease of this type. Its cause is unknown, but by animal experiment Pasteur found out how to prevent its development in human beings bitten by mad dogs. Thousands of lives are saved yearly by preventive inoculation after the bite with an emulsion of the spinal cord of rabbits containing the attenuated virus.

Thirdly, yellow fever due to an unknown virus, was found by Reed, Carroll, Lazear and Agramonte to be communicated to man only through the bite of a particular mosquito known as the Stegomyia. The mosquito is in turn infected by the blood of men suffering from the disease, but fortunately there is only a period of three days during which a patient can infect the mosquitoes which bite him. Yellow fever killed hundreds of thousands in Cuba, Mexico and the Southern States. In the light of our new knowledge it is far easier to control than malaria. Colonel Gorgas, applying this knowledge, has practically eradicated the disease from Havana and from the Panama Canal Zone. There is no reason why the disease should not be banished from the earth.

Many more examples of modern medical triumphs might be presented if time permitted, but you will agree that these are enough to illustrate recent advances. One of the latest conquests should not go without a word. I refer to Flexner's studies of the dreadfully fatal or maiming disease known as cerebro-spinal meningitis. By animal experimentation requiring the use of about 25 monkeys and a hundred guinea pigs Flexner has discovered how to use a serum which will save the lives of most persons affected. Almost 1,000 human beings have been treated with this serum; formerly 70 to 80 per cent. died and 20 to 30 per cent. recovered; with his serum 70 or 80 per cent. recover, and only 20 to 30 per cent. die. Thus, in the two or three years since it has been used at least 500 human lives have been saved by it. Surely such a showing for the sacrifice of 25 monkeys and 100 guinea pigs ought of itself to silence the anti-vivisectionists forever.

The public at large has only begun to appreciate what modern medicine is doing to prevent disease. A favourable symptom, however, emphasized recently by Professor William H. Welch in an address before the Political Economy Club of Baltimore, is the notable interest in the prevention of disease which is being manifested by leading economists. Men like Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, Professor Willcox, of Cornell, Professor Glover, of Ann Arbor, are calling attention to the enormous waste due to preventable diseases. They estimate that the economic loss to the United States alone from preventable diseases amounts to many millions of dollars per year. How accurate their calculations are I am unable to judge, but if their attempts to measure the waste in terms of hard cash serves to awaken the public to the urgent need of applying the knowledge medicine has furnishd for prevention, physicians will rejoice. In a commercial age economic considerations are sometimes more influential than the merely humanitarian!

Co-incident with measures undertaken directly for the prevention of disease society benefits indirectly in many ways. Think, for example, of the improvement in the general health of our people which has resulted from the anti-tuberculosis campaign! People sleep with their windows open or on porches; promiscuous expectoration in street cars and on the sidewalks has been prohibited by law; poorer people are being better housed; public buildings and public conveyances are being better ventilated; the hours of work and the conditions of life of the labouring classes are being regulated—indeed, great progress is making in personal and social hygiene. The general resistance to disease is being heightened and human beings enjoy more vigour than was possible before these reforms were introduced. Most people are astounded when told that during the last century the death rate has declined one-half, and the expectation of life increased by 10 or 12 years. In the prevention of typhoid fever and cholera infantum, it has become necessary to have pure water and clean milk. The fight against mosquitoes, malaria and yellow fever has led to the conversion of swamps and marshes into arable land. The extermination of rats in plague districts results in an enormous economic saving of stored goods which the rats would otherwise have destroyed. The prevention of alcoholism and venereal diseases will rob lunatic and idiot asylums, alms-houses and prisons of a large proportion of their inmates.

Fully to realize the benefits of preventive medicine it is necessary to have the co-operation of individuals, of social organizations and of governmental agencies in each town, each Province, and in the whole State. Each individual should be educated in the home and in the schools in the fundamental facts of personal hygiene; societies of various sorts for public health and social welfare purposes can do much, especially in initiating movements or undertaking work which later on can be turned over to the authorities of town or state. The anti-tuberculous crusade begun in this way has already begun to be looked after by municipal and state health officers. Nurses, physicians, charity workers, and philanthropists do much by organization in groups with specific health-improvement purposes in view.

It is, however, becoming more and more the function of government to deal with these matters. In the United States and Canada we are far behind England or Germany in Government care of the public health. Our laws are very deficient; we have very few trained sanitarians, experts in public health matters, the public generally (and too often medical men themselves) fail to realize that the average medical practitioner has almost no knowledge of sanitary science in the technical sense. We have no Institutes of Hygiene and Sanitary Science where such experts can be trained, though every University in Germany has its special institute of hygiene. To become a public health officer in England one must in addition to the ordinary medical education undertake special study and training leading to a "diploma in public health." Public health matters should, of course. be entirely divorced from politics. It should be regarded as a public scandal if public health officers, hospital appointtee, asylum superintendents and the like are changed simply because of a change in political administration.

I have heard from Dr. McPhedran that interest has grown rapidly here in Canada in the matters of water supply, disposal of sewage, the prevention of tuberculosis and typhoid, and especially in sanitary housing of the poor. It came to me as a surprise, however, to learn on questioning Dr. Amyot that your Public Health law is some 30 years old. Ought you not to have a Commission appointed to undertake its revision? I should think it would be difficult to do the work of to-day satisfactorily under regulations framed so long ago. It is extremely desirable that there be a definite fixing of responsibility upon municipal, county, provincial, and Dominion health authorities and that the activities of all these authorities be properly co-ordinated and made cooperative. All health officers should be trained sanitarians, provided with liberal salaries, and the more important positions at least should be held by men who give their whole time to the work, and do not engage in the practice of medicine. Much money would necessarily be expended, but the saving of waste from preventable diseases in the town, county and state would be very great.

Canada is at this time astonishing the world by the advances it is making in material prosperity. The outlook for the future from its rich farms, its unexhausted forests, its enormous ore deposits, and its manufacturing activities is particularly bright. In this prosperity Canadians are not likely to forget the importance of the physical and mental welfare of the people. I believe that they will realize more quickly than most nations the value of the investment of large sums of money in medical research, and that there will be no difficulty in enlisting the aid of wealthy private individuals, and of the Government in its endowment. You will too, I feel sure, quickly act upon the idea that much money will be saved and great misery avoided by providing the means for putting into practice the newer knowledge of prevention of disease of which I have spoken.

THE TREND OF EMPIRE.

An Address by the HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER, M.P., before the Empire Club of Canada, on Jan. 10th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

"The Trend of Empire" is as good a phrase as any to indicate the thought that I shall endeavour to place before you. The trend of Empire interests us all, but interests none of us so much, I take leave to say, as I think it ought to. That is excusable for several reasons —the busy work of busy men, in a busy age, precludes them from giving as much solitary thought and consecutive thought to questions lying outside their sphere of business as they otherwise might do or as good citizens of the Empire they ought to do. In looking at the Empire of Great Britain we are accustomed to say that it is unique; I think that is the word that has been used to denominate it. Unique particularly in its origin, certainly in its developments and its results and, possibly, most unique of all in the marvellous facility it has of adapting itself to constantly changing and varying conditions. The British constitution is a wonderful constitution in that respect.

The trend of Empire divides itself into three parts; the first is the long, long period of preparation in which the old Briton and Roman, the old Saxon and Celt, the old Norman and Norseman pitted their forces in opposition or combined their forces together, over a period of many, many centuries, within the territorial limits of the Islands, themselves making preparation for that vast expansion which was later to be. I simply note that without going into particulars. The next period is the period of wonderful and unexampled expansion, which when you take the dates of history, is a very short period, comparatively speaking. That expansion has been tremendous. It is as though all the preparations of centuries developed force and energy and the spirit of adventure, and the spirit of conquest and organization which all at once burst its bounds and centered itself over the face of the known world, appropriating possession after possession, almost continent after continent, and showing the seeds of the wonderful British Empire which exists to-day and of which we are all so proud. That period of expansion can have no more of our time to-day. If we dwelt upon it, it would take more than the allotted time.

Following that period of expansion is the present period in which we live, in which it would seem that the old lust for conquest, so far as it ever existed in the Saxon, has given way entirely, as it were, played itself out in its work and given way to a period of consolidation and development. And for the last century and during this century more particularly, that is, the period in which we are living, and in which this Empire is working, the period of consolidation and of development, accompanied by the appropriate organization to bring about that consolidation, and to press forward that development of all the parts of the Empire—in this period of consolidation and development and the organization which is working thereto there are, it seems to me, three different trends, and these I call the trend of Empire.

The first is the trend towards the ever-growing freedom and comparative autonomy of the different units of the Empire. The old possession, held lightly, has been turned into a more or less organized and settled portion of the Empire. Out of it has been carved the Crown colonies, the self-governing Colonies, the great protectorates of Egypt and of India, and that other stage in which we find the separate units, in so far as the geography and other conditions assist, being united into federations. Such, for example, is the Canadian confederation, the Australian federation and the latest and last, the South African organization, in which the different self-governing units have massed themselves together in a more complex and more co-ordinate system, and so are leading out into the general development and consolidation of the Empire on the best possible lines.

But that is one trend. These different steps and stages of freedom which have resulted in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, and the self-governing Dominions, into a local autonomy almost absolute and perfect in itself, has been a most wonderful development in the history of the Empire. To leave that without dwelling longer upon it than to suggest it, let me call your attention to the fact that along side of that there is another trend, equally positive, equally universal, and equally essential to the permanance and stability of Empire. That is the trend towards, keeping up what, already, is perhaps the dominant idea—namely a co-ordination of all the units of the Empire in a central and Imperial system. There you see what we have in the great universe about us; this earth has its revolution upon its axis, its change of seasons, but the earth in its orbit, where it is autonomous and undisputed so to speak, finds that over and above it there is a greater and stronger power which keeps it co-ordinated with the centre of its system; and so with all our systems as with the central system of the universe. These planets of ours would soon riot and result in the destruction of one another if it were not for that central co-ordinating power which holds them together in the great universe. And as well, though in quite a different sense, these different units of Empire might cause great damage to one another and be productive of great weakness in the whole if, whilst they had their own well-constituted orbits, there was not still a central power which held them to the Imperial whole, and so co-ordinated them along the path and line of Empire.

Where we sometimes are apt to make mistakes is that we fix our minds too much upon either the one or the other of these without holding the balance well between the two. We are proud of our freedom. Take Canada, for instance. We talk about our constitutional position, about our being free, about our self-development, about our own powers being unshackled. We are proud of it; we boast of it; we vaunt it; and within reason that is right. But we make a substantial mistake if, whilst we speak of that and dwell upon that, we do not give prominence to the other trend and central idea of this great Empire of ours, namely, that which compels us, and holds us towards the centre of the Empire, and binds us together into one. Now in all this that has happened, do not let us be led away with the false idea that it has been a kind of a warfare, a strenuous contest, that we have, as it were, wrenched from Great Britain these liberties that we have. History denies that. Fact is against it. It is easy for a man in making the most of what he holds to be the great privileges of government that this country enjoys, to represent them as having been forced from an unwilling central authority. Let us get rid of that idea. All this strength, and power, and fullness of freedom that we to-day possess, has not been wrenched from a foreign or from an uncongenial or a stingy source. It has been absolutely proffered and thrown, as it were, upon us as the result of a policy which is as wide as the Empire is and which is as old as this period of organization and consolidation and development of which I have spoken.

We are not wise in going back to the most ignorant, the most tyrannical, most autocratical periods. We must give all due weight to the progress of principles and of ideas. I am right, I think, in saying that in this last period of which I am speaking, we have not in any sense had to wrest these things from an unwilling authority. We have simply got them in the progress of a great policy which has been adopted by the thinkers and the statesmen of Great Britain. Nor have we been unhelped and unaided in the organization which, with these great powers, we have taken part in, and wherein we have played a very successful part. In the consolidation of Canada as in the consolidation of Australia and of South Africa, the British Government, the main force and influence of the Empire, has been a uniform and helping hand in bringing about the actual accomplishment in each and in every case. They have aided us by their counsels. They have given us of the depth of that accumulated political wisdom which the Empire has, through a long series of centuries, laid up for itself, and which to-day as though in a great laboratory, is stored for the benefit of those who come after us as well as of the workers of to-day. In the development of Canada, of Australia, of every self-governing part of the Empire, not only has Great Britain not been unwilling, but British capital, British enterprise, and British vigour and adventure have played a most important part in the development which these different organized communities have been enabled to carry out for themselves.

We, I want to re-inforce the idea with which I commenced, have been dealing with a Mother and not with an alien or a foreigner. Whatever has come in the way of freedom has come in some cases, before it was given, in others as the subject of inquiry and of deliberate examination, against the outcome of decisions based upon that broad and enlightened policy which has dominated the Empire for the last hundred years. Now I want to say that discernable along with both of these trends there is, I think, a third trend which we ought not to lose sight of, that is this: whilst in no case has the Imperial authority opposed itself to what the development of the self-governing powers of the different units of the Empire, but has rather extended to them the sympathetic and helpful hand; whilst there has been kept, on the other hand, the co-ordinating power of the Empire as a whole drawing and binding together the different units; there has been a perceptible advance in one direction, a continuous well-defined, absolutely evident progress in this, that the enfranchised, and the enfreedomed units of the Empire have been constantly asked to take greater participation and greater interest in the Imperial direction of affairs, within the Empire as a whole.

I do not know whether I have made it clear, but to me it is an important thing. To the man who would say, "see what we have gained from the Empire," and hold up these things that I have been talking of, and who would go, as I think, a little too far in saying that these have been wrested from the Empire, I would raise this point, or I would uphold that other side of the shield, and ask where has opposition been shown to the development of your freedom, where has the Imperial entity, so to speak, which was interested in keeping the parts together and binding them all into one great whole opposed your progress; where has it shown a stingy reserve in barring you out, after having given you those full liberties, from having a constantly increasing and greater share in the Imperial whole, in influencing it, in participating in its work, in becoming influential units in the decision of great Imperial questions and the administration of the Empire as a whole.

Now this third point is an important thing, it seems to me, for us to constantly remember. And it sums up what is the trend of Empire, in my mind, the greatest broadening, the constantly broadening, freedom of self-government in each unit; along side of that the careful holding of the cords that bind all together into one Imperial whole; with it an ever-outstretched invitation to everyone of these enfranchised and enfreedomed units, that they shall come into the direction of Imperial affairs and take more and more their place, by opinion, by suggestion, and by actual consultation and even beyond that. These are the lines upon which it seems to me we are trending.

Now, Mr. President, shall I be saying too much, if I say what I hinted at a moment ago, that I think some rather foolish talk, to say the best of it, and not the worst of it, has been indulged in by ourselves—we will say, for the sake of not having any quarrel later amongst ourselves, foolish talk, and even mischievious talk, along the line of which I hinted a moment ago. Now these say, and talk in this wise—"See what we have wrested from the Imperial Power." I have touched upon that. "We have gained our fiscal autonomy," they say. "We have gained our political autonomy," they add. "We have indicated our autonomy in the matter of the negotiation of treaties with foreign nations," they go on. "We have got even our Naval autonomy," they now declare. The latest addition of all is this, that I have heard is that we practically have our autonomy in national and international relations. After this about all that we have to do when we bow the knee to King Edward, is to salute him, not as our Sovereign, but as our Suzerain. I take leave to say that this is foolish talk, if that is all that is meant, not only foolish, but mischievous. It tends to create false impressions; and false impressions created at this particular time in Canada, with our flooding immigration from all countries under the sun and with our changing and mobile conditions, are, if false, far-reaching in consequences and may be fraught with some danger and some difficulty, in the after time.

Let me, just for one moment, take up these three or four points. We have gained our fiscal autonomy. Yes, and in what way have we gained it, and what is it? We had it by virtue of an Imperial Act of Parliament, the action of the supreme authority itself. We have our political autonomy, and we carry on our affairs accordingly; but under what right and by what charter excepting the right and charter of the Confederation Act, which is an Act signed by the Soveriegn's own hand, which is an emanation of the highest parliamentary power of the Empire. That is how we have it, and why we have it. We have, say some, fiscal autonomy as well as political autonomy, and we have also now the right to make our own treaties with foreign nations. That is not true, it is an absolute misrepresentation. There is but one power in the British Empire, which can make, and sign, and give effect to a treaty, and that is the Sovereign power, and whatever we are in Canada, we are not a Sovereign power. That is again a development of the very same, wise policy, of which I spoke a moment ago.

When Canadian interests came to be important, and when negotiations were on where Canadian interests were strongly in evidence, then the British Government took a step forward. It is said: "We think we ought to have advice from Canada, or Australia, or other self-governing countries," and they took advice. They then went a step forward in the course of evolution: "We think we ought to have a representative, or a statesman, or knowledgible person from that

Dominion, or that unit, to sit with us, and to have the benefit of his advice, and of his knowledge, and they have later (in 1893) taken the final and most forward step that under our constitution they can take, that is by making representatives of the Dominion the negotiators for His Majesty, the Plenipotentiaries of the Crown, and associating them with their own representatives in the negotiation, and the practical conclusion of a treaty. Yet that is not an absolute autonomy in treaty-making, and to represent it so, is to create a false impression, which is very apt to lead up to consequences, that as I said, are far-reaching. I think we have to remember these things; whilst we talk of our freedom and our autonomy, we must limit it by a phrase. It is a constitutional and local autonomy that we have, and only have and can only have, and it is well to remember the fact that it is an autonomy which was given to us by the highest power of the Empire itself.

So, I say, that if these words are used without being fraught with meaning, if they are simple rhetorical phrases, if they are simply a little florid adornment to a speech at a banquet or elsewhere, if they serve, as it were, like pepper and such things either to season the dish, and make it for the time being a little more stinging and palatable it may be all right, but still, I think, a little foolish, and apt to be mischievious, though we will not quarrel greatly with it. But if these words are meant to convey what they do mean; if they are studied, and serious, then I think they merit more than the epithet of foolish and mischievious, and verge very strongly indeed upon the revolutionary; for Sir, we cannot have an absolute autonomy in any of these particulars and remain within the boundaries of the Empire itself. We can have all these things if we wish, we can have all these autonomies to their perfect fulfilment, but we can have them only on one condition, that is that we step out from the Empire and declare ourselves to be independent. Then we can elect our own presidents, then we can make our own treaties, then we can have our perfect political autonomy, and our political fiscal autonomy in so far as the circumstances of the world will guarantee them to us; but on no other conditions can we have these things, and I say that it is not worth while our living much longer in a fool's paradise refusing to think about these matters or to express our minds with reference to them. What we want to know is whether this talk is studied, if it has the full meaning in itself that its words would show it to have.

Possibly we have approached a position where we are obliged to think, where I am obliged to think as the descendant of an old Loyalist and a Britain to the core, where this Club is bound to think as a British Empire club, and where the people of this country are obliged to think, as well—they who have been born in the lap and nourished in the protection and sympathetic help of the Empire, and have arrived at the stage of the fulfilment of their progress under such conditions as those I have indicated. For myself I am ready to discuss the question at any time, but what I just want to put before the minds of the members of this Club is, not to allow ourselves to drift any longer until some day we find ourselves on a vessel, the sails of which bear the unthinking and unmeaning titles and mottos which I have recited in a little degree before you to-day. For my own part, I am of the opinion that if it comes to the point of whether we are to break off from this Empire and enjoy what these words would seem to make us believe we already have, that if it comes to that point we are ready to decide in this country. Let me put it to any man here, you are all of you wiser than I am, most of you older than I am, (laughter) and you are business and scientific men, and you are men of knowledge, and of education. Suppose that one of you found himself down at the Union Station. You go up to the wicket and the man behind the wicket says: "Where are you going?"

"Hanged if I know where I am going."

"Well you are going somewhere?"

"Yes, I am going."

"Don't you know where you are going?"

"No, I have not made up my mind yet."

"Well, I can't sell you a ticket'.'

Or on some well-regulated road you get into the train, and the Conductor says:

"Ticket, Sir."

"I haven't any."

"Where are you going?"

"I don't know where I am going."

"But you are going?"

"Yes, the train is in motion; I am going."

"Well, don't you know where you are going? Where shall I put you off?"

Well, that would be rather a foolish position for a man with a well-developed brain, and fair reasoning power, to be subjected to, rather a position which he would not like to be caught in. How much better are some of us in reference to this develpoment of Empire—as to where we are going. Time was when we could be excused, because in our then stage of development, we were children and younger than we are. My whole argument to-day is that the time has come when we should take these matters into serious consideration, and know as far as we possibly can where we are bound for and be able to ask for a ticket to the place for which we are heading, and to which we wish to get.

Now, Mr. President and Gentlemen, that is all I have to say to you to-day; nothing in it that is new, nothing in it that you yourselves have not thought out a hundred times, but it is well for us to review these things now and then. Let me hand you just one other thought and it is this. I spoke of the wonderful adaptability of the British constitution to meet circumstances as they arise in the great progress of the Empire itself. One evidence comes to your minds as it comes to mine: it is the Imperial Conference. Have you thought much of it? They have met from 1887 at certain periods; they have determined now, to meet at least every four years. It has become a stated Conference in this respect that it has appointed its Secretaries and it has its staff and its rooms and has become a permanent thing. What is this Imperial Conference? It is an answer to the cry that has come up from every part of the Empire, weak at first, but growing stronger as the years passed for some mechanism or other by which the Empire as a whole could be brought together in the shape of its representative men, who could hold counsel together, and consult together for the good of the Empire as a whole. To-day it is absolutely constituted, it is absolutely there, it has already printed upon history many achievements. It includes the Prime Ministers and Ministers of every self-governing dependency throughout the Empire, the Prime Minister and Ministers of Great Britain.

In London they sit down together, they have no executive power as yet, they simply have the power of examination, of swapping confidences face to face instead of seven or eight thousand miles apart, of bestowing their confidences upon each other, or withholding them. Instead of using the printed paper which is cold and distant and illogical in the extreme, they come together face to face. The highest dignitaries of every part of the Empire all animated with motives of patriotism, all statesmen more or less, and probably, taken altogether, the best representatives you could get together at any one time. They exchange confidences; they give by word of mouth or flashes in the eye, their hopes, their desires, their conditions; they travel together in argument and examination, and consultation, and they come to a conclusion upon all subjects which admit of unanimous conclusion, and leave those that are not unanimously concluded over till a riper time and a second Conference when they may meet again and see eye to eye on some of them. That is the Imperial Conference, and in it to-day is centered more of the hope, more of the future possibility, more of the grand achievement, and the prominence of the Empire, as a whole, than in any other body executive or consultative that we have within the whole range of the Empire.

That is the adaptation of the British constitution on this line of Imperial work by the different constituents of the Empire. We have no Parliament in which all are represented; we possibly could not at this time have such a Parliament. This, however, is the beginning of a growth which as the Empire proceeds, will bring all of its parts closer and closer. For instance, there may be a preponderating sentiment in Canada, Australia, South Africa, against such and such development of policy. It is taken into account and perhaps the suggestion is made, and acted upon, that this shall not be pressed until we have more light and more knowledge. But there are other lines of policy upon which co-operation and co-partnership are suggested and are carried out, and in this way the dominance of the Imperial idea, the strength of the Imperial bond, and as I believe it, the consequent pre-eminence and unity of the Empire are strongly wrought together. Let us hold to the Imperial trend. Whilst we rebate none of our powers of self-government let us joyfully enter into the invited field of influence and participation in the great affairs of the Empire by whatever mechanism the wisdom of statesmen of the Empire can invent, and so let us march onward far into that illimitable series of years which lies yet before this British Empire if it is wisely managed, properly organized, and fairly co-ordinated—that work which shall undertake the filling up of the waste places of the Empire, the development of the immense resources up to this time untouched, and which have lain untouched because of the lack of organization, of population and development.

Some men tell us that the years of this British Empire are pretty nearly numbered. To my mind it is but in its infancy. To my mind it is just organizing for the work of the future, for the work that lies before it, the work that I believe God has given it to do. If there is anything in the power that has been accumulated, in the civilization that has been concentrated, in the institutions of freedom and of law that have through centuries grown up in the British Empire and are essentially British, the future holds for these in their further development and their further power an almost illimitable field. I, for one, do not want to be shut off from entering into that field. I want to see Canada, Australia, South Africa, and by and by the other co-ordinated parts of the Empire all working together on common Christian lines, to push forward this Evangel of Empire and civilization and Christianity, which we have known so much of in the past, which has done such a great work for the world of the past, and which ought to do an infinitely greater work for the world of the future.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SUFFRAGETTE

An Address by PROFESSOR ANDREW MACPHAIL, M.A., of McGill University, Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Jan. 20th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am not insensible to the humour of the situation, addressing a company of mature men rather than the usual class-room of students which I am accustomed to address—looking up and hungering to be fed—nor am I insensible to the privilege of addressing this audience. I am glad to speak to this audience because it is one with whose objects I am in entire accord. It might well be thought that one who had such an opportunity as this would not misuse it by dealing with anything less than some of the immediate problems which confront us to-day! Now. this subject in which I have chosen to involve myself is an extremely technical and philosophical one, upon which I would not care to speak without the assistance of some notes so that I shall be able to convey to you precisely the shade of meaning which I intend, and if I occupy a little more than the half-hour I hope that you will bear with me.

Few problems are so simple as they seem. Indeed all questions are one question, and the ready answer which appears final may be entirely inadequate when the enquiry is enlarged to its proper bounds. An imperfect reason is worse than no reason at all. If, for example, the function of voting has not, up to the present time, been entrusted to women, it is because the case in favour of that measure has not been properly presented. The argument has been too feminine, too easily met. If we say that women should have the privilege of voting, we are struck with the retort that voting is not a privilege but a duty. If we point to the anomaly of a woman, intellectual as George Eliot and sensative as Mrs. Browning, being deprived of a privilege which her husband's valet enjoys, the explanation is offered that the difficulty may be solved as well as by taking the vote away from the man as by giving it to the woman.

When we protest that the suffrage should be conferred upon the married woman who in her own right is in possession of property, we are informed that the family, not the individual, is the unit of society; and if we restrict our demand to votes for unmarried women alone, we involve ourselves in a controversy with the friends of Mrs. Browning, on the one hand, and of George Eliot, on the other, to say nothing of the members of that most ancient of all professions, who must be considerable property owners to pay the contributions which are habitually imposed upon them. If a property qualification would admit Judas, universal suffrage would admit the Women at the Well; but the principle of votes for married women would involve us in a consideration of their matrimonial status, about which there might well be a difference of opinion, especially in a community like the United States of America, in which one marriage out of every twelve is terminated by divorce.

We plead that wage-earning women who are economically independent of men by reason of their labour in shop, office, and factory should no longer be compelled to remain voiceless: the dissentients reply that the presence of women in those capacities is an anomaly of civilization, which will not be remedied by the creation of a fresh anomaly. When we offer them one of these alternatives: If women are different from men, representative government without including them is incompletely representative of the State; If women are the same as men, then presumably they have the same need to vote as men; they suggest that we substitute "lunatics" for "women" and see how the propositions read.

As answer to our argument that a women who has acquired a University degree is more likely to vote intelligently than a man who is unable to decipher the name of a candidate upon the ballot and whose attainment in writing does not extend beyond the capacity to sign his name with a cross, we are informed with coarse brutality that the propriety of a college education for women is problematical and its advantage a matter of pure surmise. And finally, if we protest that character is the supreme test of fitness to vote or hold office, we are filled with the apprehension against the day when the fierce light of publicity will beat upon the Woman at the Booth, when opposing newspapers will investigate her conduct to ascertain if she is truthful in her declarations before the Customs; for example, if she rules well her own household, having children and having them in subjection, the wife of one husband, of good behaviour, patient, not a brawler, not double-tongued, grave, sober, faithful in all things. The feminine character is notoriously difficult of investigation, and it must be estimated according to the fine standard of feminine perfection, and not by the coarse attainment of the best of public men.

If we rely upon authority and appeal to John Stuart Mill, our opponents remind us that this great moralist attained to a surety of conviction upon the propriety of female suffrage only after he had come under the ministration of that humane person, Mrs. Taylor, "a woman of surpassing excellence, who lived generally apart from her husband." When the enemies of woman suffrage have departed from this attitude of stolid indifference or obstinate contradiction and put forward initial objections of their own, we have always been able to make reply. They protest that the polling-booth, the legislative chamber, and the barber's shop are no fit resorts for women; and we call to their attention that women have made themselves perfectly at home in other environments which appeared at first sight to be equally uncongenial—in the club, in street-processions, and in the smoking-room of steamers.

Not content with contradition, they have resort to mockery, alleging that, if women had votes, they would cast them for the candidate who had a fine general aspect and an external appearance which was pleasing. It is our sufficient answer that candidates are elected by the present method for reasons which are equally flimsy, and that under the new arrangements a House of Commons would be composed of men who would at least be beautiful, whereas to-day they are neither beautiful nor good! They charge that a man who has a wife and daughter would then have three votes instead of one; yet that is not more unreasonable than the present arrangement under which men purchase voters and send them to the polls like driven cattle. When mockery fails they descend to ridicule even of martyrs, laughter at heroines, and mirth because a suffragette of her own volition assumed and continues to bear the name of Catt.

Having now at the expense of some labour cleared the ground, I shall endeavour to set forth the psychology of the suffragette, not in the interest of pure science so much as with the intention of discovering if an examination of the female nature will not yield a fundamental reason why such women as so desire should be permitted to vote, to hold office, and to engage in public life. To warrant so important a departure from the established order of society, nothing less than a fundamental reason will suffice; that is, one which has been valid ever since the advent of life upon the earth, or, at any rate, of beings which have the appearance of movement. Of this creation we have two accounts. The one is given by a Semitic writer of Lower Asia, whose name is unknown to us. The other, which is the more commonly received, is closely identified with the name of Professor MacBride. The two accounts may be reconciled by assuming that the word "beginning" means a second beginning. By this easy device of exegesis we discover that in Professor MacBride's "beginning" there was neither male nor female, nothing but a neutral protoplasmic mass. In the second "beginning" there was a differentiation between the two sexes.

Leaving the ground of authority, and appealing to scientific experience, we shall discover that the male was developed out of this mass with special characteristics for the convenience of the less modified organism which remained. A timely confirmation of this statement arises out of Dr. Rumley Dawson's recent discovery in physiology, that the causation of sex lies entirely with the female; and we can well understand why she should be so resolute to preserve the type which she has created, by offering to the most manly the prize of her possession, and passing over the type which has the closest resemblance to her own. And yet, it is only for convenience we assume that nature works within rigid bounds. We speak of spring, summer, autumn, and winter for the benefit of those who sow seed, pay rent, and perform the other duties of society, whereas in reality there are no recurring seasons, but an unending progress of time. This division of living beings into male and female is also a fiction. All we should say is that the characteristics of the male or of the female are especially predominant in any given individual. The truth of this statement is apparent if we scan the range of plant life; and even in the case of the lower animals it is only a little less obvious. That is a matter of common knowledge, but its cogency when applied to ourselves demands a word by way of illustration. There are persons who are anatomically males and physically females, that is, with the outward appearance of men and the minds of women. They write letters to the newspapers, and the most experienced editor falls into error in determining the sex of the writer. These persons who lack in maleness always ally themselves with women who possess the quality in which they are deficient, and between the two the proper complement is established.

On the other hand it is the residue of the male element in the female which strives to express itself by the assumption of manly garb, voice, gesture, and conduct; though it is much easier for a man to become a woman than it is for a woman to become a man. In each there is something of the other, but what that amount is in any one individual could be determined only by a close scrutiny and comparison with the results obtained in a large number of observed cases. Certain investigations demand minuteness of enquiry, others, largness of view. One might well write a monograph upon the camel, the ostrich, or the centaur based upon the results of a scientific examination of a few specimens, which up to a certain point would be quite complete and have great value. This is the work of the anatomist in zoology, or of the morphologist in botany, who considers the lily in his laboratory rather than in the field. The anthropologist who deals with mankind in the mass, or the systemic botanist, must not taunt his fellow-investigator with want of experience in his own peculiar department, who is debarred by lack of facilities or even of inclination from making large numerical observations.

The male is what horticulturists designate as a sport, with an ineradicable tendency to revert to the female type, which is the more stable of the two, less sensitive and therefore capable of enduring discomfort, less intelligent and therefore guided more by instinct than by reason, less troubled by those emotions which lead to self-sacrifice for the good of the whole, more enduring because less dominated by those principles which are known as morality. Every civilization which has passed away proceeded by the road to effeminacy. That is the teaching of history, and it is a matter of common observation in the individual who is becoming less virile. He forsakes his fellows for the companionship of a woman. He displays an extreme and foolish fondness, and extravagant and servile devotion, which goes by the name of uxoriousness. The phenomenon is observed at every age, but is most common in the extreme of life. We have all observed the young husband who is blissfully content with the functions of a lady's maid, and the old man whose domestic duties are mainly those of a "hooker up," as that humble office is technically called. In his occasional intercourse with men he misses the adulation to which he is accustomed, and becomes at first dogmatic, then truculent, and finally by common consent is expelled from male society.

The disturbance of this balance between the sexes is more exaggerated in certain periods of history than in others. It was most marked at those stages of civilization in which the matriarchal theory of government prevailed. This occurred at a time when humanity was emerging from savagery, when the chase as a means of livelihood was giving way to agricultural pursuits and the domestication of animals, when articles of adornment had fallen from their high purpose and bred the debasing necessity for the warmth and comfort of clothing. These three offices of caring for animals, planting seeds, and making clothes naturally fell to women. The calf, lamb, or kid, an accidental product of the chase, was brought home to the cave as an object of interest. Its gambols of joy or its contortions in pain were amusing to the women and children, and its life was preserved as a solace from the tedium of winter. From this it was an easy discovery that the animal might reproduce its kind and afford, by the food products which it yielded, sustenance in time of need, and warmth after its body was skinned and eaten. By an equally fortuitous circumstance the advantages of a stable supply of fruits from the earth must have been discovered. The labour of the chase, which began as a sport and ended as a necessity, became a piece of sport again, to which the man might devote himself with pleasure unalloyed by the fear of hunger. But even a life of pure sport eventually palls upon one, and the primitive man lapsed into a condition of idleness in which he was so inert that women were obliged to undertake the business of government as well as of industry. They dominated the religious system also; and the deities of that period are always female. From this we may deduce the law that the authority of the woman prevails in direct proportion to her usefulness.

Men who are idle become debased. They forsake the quest of their hard ideal and turn aside upon an easier way. By inertia alone they tend to exaggerate the female element in themselves and to become like women. This glorification of the feminine finds its most modern expression in the tenets of that new American sect set apart by a woman, which contends that its founder has interpreted the feminine idea of God as Jesus interpreted the masculine idea. To this is added the inconsequential corollary that the feminine is the higher of the two; and there is an illuminating revelation of a somewhat general mind upon the question of motherhood in their theory that this woman by a process of immaculate conception brought forth a book. As if anticipating the question, her great apologist admits: "You may ask why this child did not come in human form as did the Child of old," and he supplies the answer: "Because it was not necessary." Out of a plain New England woman they have made a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars, delivering the child which shall heal all nations. At least that is how it appears in their own writings and painted windows. This sentiment is a pure revival of paganism and recurs continually. It brought the worship of the woman into the Church during the renaissance which occurred in the fifteenth century, when the Diety was expressed by the term Dea. One may agree that women are saints, and yet have a hesitancy of conviction that they are gods.

Women have a sure instinct that this natural tendency of men to exaggerate the feminine idea and to become like women is perilous to the race. It is women alone who prevent it from dominating the world, on account of their own inherent distrust in it. This is well shown by the secret pity which a woman entertains for a man who is about to unite himself for life with one of her own sex. A woman marries for the substantial reason that she is enamoured of the institution of marriage: a man marries because a certain personality is attractive to him. If he would discover how flimsy this reason appears to the woman who is the object of attraction, he has only to hear the comments which are made as she regales her friends with a revelation of his mind as exposed in those writings which are commonly known as "love-letters" and occasionally as "exhibits."

If, now, we can discover that the exercise by women of the function of voting will tend to preserve the male idea from merging into the feminine, the case in favour of female suffrage will be advanced, even if we are obliged to abandon the ground upon which the measure has been defended, namely, that it would make for efficiency of government and do something to remove the disabilities which women as well as men now endure. Suffragettes have come to believe that there is something thaumaturgic or at least sacramentary in the act of voting, that it has an inherent efficacy and would confer upon public life an inward and spiritual grace, whilst in reality it is merely an ordinance without sanctity, an outward and visible sign of something which may have no existence, and may be fraught with damnation to those who perform it unworthily.

Voting is merely a method of expressing an opinion. The result is good or bad, depending upon the correctness of the opinions which the voters entertain and their ability to enforce them. The method has worked well in certain cases, namely, those in which communities had discovered the true principles of public policy by long ages of experience in public affairs, by living a life of freedom, resolute to maintain it even at the cost of sacrificing the individual life. Certain tribes from the shores of the North Sea which afterwards developed into the Anglo-Saxon race earned their freedom by remaining free. Every man voted. The reeve with four men from each township appeared at the hundred-mot to enforce an opinion which was in reality a derivative from the need and art of fighting. Other communities seized this weapon without paying the price and it broke in their hands. The negroes of the United States had the duty of voting thrust upon them; and one would be naive indeed who should say that their condition was improved thereby, or that they brought any great accession of wisdom to the public councils.

I am afraid that the women who profess to believe that all things will be made new by the easy device of voting are following their senses under the delusion that they are following the inexorable logic of a long experience.

It is only those who are engaged in practical politics who are aware how small a part voting plays in the operation of government, and they have devised an elaborate machinery to prevent an expression of public opinion, or to thwart it in the event of its getting out of hand. Many women are sufficiently instructed in cynicism to unmask the most plausible politician; but women of simplicity, having faith in all humanity, would become unconscious dupes of the wily intriguer, or willing victims of the honest reformer who is himself deceived. Even if women were in possession of a correct theory of government, which in itself is merely a matter of surmise, and were resolved to lay aside all considerations of personal interest for the sake of giving true expression to it, they would yet be face to face with those contrivances which exist for the purpose of dulling the conscience and paralyzing the public will. Men who are enthusiastic reformers of politics continually encounter the influence of the under-world intriguer, the briber, the organizer of self-interest; and it is entirely probable that in the new order women might be found who would lend themselves for these base purposes, if we can infer from the ease with which recruits are obtained for purposes which are baser still.

Suffragettes are mistaken if they suppose that their labour is ended when they pause in the weary round of visits to dressmaker, manicure, and masseuse, or interrupt their social and domestic duties, for so much time as is required to place a dainty ballot in a box. When they adventure into the booth they plunge into the world of politics and of crime, unaware that their innocent act may be the means of depriving a rich corporation of its booty, a poor man of his food, a worker of the right to live, a women of her profession, or a criminal of his prey. They must not expect that, upon beholding the spectacle of a suffragette about to vote, all these forces of self-interest and of evil will run backward and fall to the ground as dead men.

It is not the act of voting which emancipates a people. They qualify themselves for voting by remaining free. The negroes to whom I have referred will be worthy to vote only when they emancipate themselves from themselves. Their political equality was thrust upon them, and it has not done them much good. They were unable to acquire freedom: they are unfit to exercise the functions of free men. The immediate business to which all suffragettes should address themselves is to assist in this investigation of their own minds, to ascertain if they really do desire freedom and are competent to achieve it, if indeed they desire it so earnestly that they must needs seize upon it without saying "by your leave," and at one stroke emancipate themselves from their own nature and from the restrictions which from the beginning of time have been imposed upon them by reason of the possession of that nature.

All literature concerns itself with this investigation of the nature of humanity, or rather the soul of it, if one may risk the employment of so ambiguous a word; and, according to Browning, little else is worth study save the development of a soul. The consensus that an examination of the soul of the female is an impolite, ungracious, or impertinent act is a suggestion that she has none, or at best, that she has one which does not merit or will not endure such scrutiny. The process can be carried on with entire impersonality, as men investigate their own nature, and even if it lead to self-depreciation, that also is good. The "capability and god-like reason" of the male is not the theme of "Hamlet," but rather an amplification of the question and answer: "What is a man?" If his chief good and market of his time be but to sleep and feed,—"a beast, no more, a beast, the lord of beasts!" And if in the nature of women are found traces of the primitive woman, that need not alarm them or us, though it may dispel certain illusions to make way for fresh illusions founded upon reality.

Men are quite free to confess that they have not eradicated the savage instincts from their hearts, that traces of the primitive man are ever present with them, and they do not hesitate to make open revelation of it in their stupid brutality, in the joy with which they eat their food, in their poor attempts at the decoration of their persons by means of green hats and coloured waistcoats, in their pitiable efforts to look fierce by an arrangement of the vestige of hair which yet survives, in the alacrity with which they imbibe intoxicants for the sake of casting off that burden of morality which they have so painfully acquired and which yet sits uneasily upon them. But a woman, living in the minds of others, careful not of what she is but of the impression which she makes, is as anxious to conceal her identity as she is to disguise the art of her adornment.

To get at the root of the matter, we must understand the essential character of the feminine nature, and if we discover that it is good, neutral, or bad, we must remember that man has made it so. The praise or blame is to us. Therefore we are in reality investigating ourselves. There is a German saying: From a woman you can learn nothing of a woman. As Immanuel Kant explains it: woman does not betray her secret. And yet, the only secret which is well kept is that which is no secret at all. Possibly this is the reason why women and Freemasons have been so successful in guarding theirs! The revelation which women in their writings make of themselves is incomplete because they are incapable of that intellectual effort by which complete detachment is obtained. All the "Confessions" have been done by men, St. Augustine, Montaigne, Pepys, Rousseau, Amiel, and by those immodest writers of the past ten years whose confessions are so tiresome because they have so little to confess, and therefore experience none of that reminiscitory pleasure which makes the confessional so popular.

It was a reflection of Joseph de Maistre: "I do not know what the heart of a rascal may be; I know what is in the heart of an honest man: it is horrible." Only a man is capable of making this true reflection and of confessing not alone faults which do not dishonour, but secrets which are ridiculous and mortal sins which are without extenuation. One may well believe that Chateaubriand in his *Memoires d'Outre-tombe,* Lamartine in his *Confidences,* Renan in his *Souvenirs,* even without being consciously insincere or lacking in veracity, refrained from mentioning those creully painful reminiscences with which Rousseau scourged himself; but one is considered simple-minded indeed who believes that George Sand tells us as much as she can remember in *L'Histoire de ma Vie*. This charge which M. Jules Lemaitre brings against George Sand finds its explanation in the fact that women really do forget. A man will deliberately revive the remembrance of past sins for his present amendment, and evil being turned into good, the sin is forgiven. A woman forgets an act of meanness because it made no impression upon her mind when she committed it. She does not understand the nature of it. She forgives an act of meanness which a woman commits against her because they understand each other so well.

To arrive at an apprehension of this condition of non-morality, we must go back to the beginning of created beings, when the problems of physiology were reduced to their simplest forms, and the problems of psychology and ethics had not yet made their appearance; when the presence of life was revealed only by the appearance of movement. As we see the living being in its lowest form, it merely moves, eats, grows, reproduces itself, and dies. It is contractile, irritable, receptive, assimilative, metabolic, secretory, respiratory, and reproductive, as the books on science say. This seems a great deal, but in reality it is very little, for it does not differentiate an amœba from a man. The evolution of the animal kingdom began with the acquirement of the first rudiments of a morality. The original amœba was content to await until its food arrived in a faint swirl of water. We can well imagine that, by some circumstance which was apparently fortuitous but in reality due to the operation of the law of gravity and of those principles which underlie the distribution of air, the food was brought in unusual quantity or at an unnecessary moment. The creature, being already surfeited, was quite willing that the nutriment should go to a rival. The satisfaction which was experienced as a result of comfortable physical distention was attributed to an act of self-abnegation, and so the foundation of morality was laid.

This illustration may be made more obvious, and perhaps less absurb, if we consider the situation of the savage reclining before the fire with his family in the sanctity of his cave after a successful day's chase, and a surfeit upon the rude but efficient cookery of those days. We shall not be wrong if we surmise that an emotion of gratitude might arise in his breast towards the giver of so much good and of commiseration of a less fortunate neighbour. This laudable sentiment might induce him to share the food which was yet uneaten, especially if—not to credit him with too high and disinterested a morality—he recalled that on previous occasions his surplus store had perished by decay. Certainly he would not feel disposed to interfere with his neighbour's chase, and so the principle of justice would be established. It is not improbable that his neighbour at some future time would do as he had been done by, and accordingly the growth of morality and the bonds of amity would be strengthened. In due course game laws would make their appearance, and out of that would arise a system of jurisprudence to cover the various problems which must have faced a growing, though simple, civilization.

If now it be true that morality had its origin in the mental and physical activities attendant upon the procuring of food, and since these activities were exercised chiefly by the male, it follows that the female who was not brought under the influence of a favourable environment would remain non-moral. She did not come in contact with the world, as the saying is, and continued unlearned, wanting the hard lesson of experience. Something of a similiar nature is still witnessed in the case of those clerics who deal habitually with women, of schoolmasters and professors whose world is merely that which is encountered within the walls of a class-room, and of writers whose observation does not extend beyond their closets. The characteristics of the feminine nature are found in them. They are considered virtuous because the problems of morality have never presented themselves.

Shut out from the world, the primitive woman was not free to develop an independent life. She adapted herself to the man. His views were her views; his dislikes were shared by her, and she adopted his opinions ready-made. She preferred to be dependent, and agreed that the man should continue to mould her mentality. This destruction of her personality and departure from her line of life became so permanent that she enjoyed it. Her sense of personal value was lost. It was found in external things, her beauty, her adornment, her children, or her husband. This lightness of regard for their own personality still persists, as we may see in the readiness with which a woman exchanges her own name for another, not once, but under certain circumstances—after a period of half-luxurious sorrow and self-conscious demureness—twice, or yet again, and each time with the greater alacrity. Without freedom there can be no free will, and without free will there can be no character.

The primitive man in the contest with his environment developed an ethic, a logic, and a morality, because he was free. Deprived of freedom, the primitive woman remained servile in disposition; tyrannical when occasion offered, because the servant makes the worst master; unjust, since she was protected against the penalty of injustice; unsympathetic and heartless, because there was no occasion for a wide and disinterested charity; mindless, because there was another to think for her. Trained to accept the convention which the man imposed upon her, she easily submitted to the conventions devised by her own sex, and became imitative even in the clothes which she wore, in the method of adornment which she adopted, in the sentiments which she entertained, and in the opinions which she expressed. In time, however, she adapted herself to her environment, and developed a kind of ethic of her own, which was entirely adequate for the circumstances in which she was placed, but breaks down hopelessly in a wider sphere of activity.

As if it were not enough that the woman was deprived of these incentives to the acquisition of a morality, she was made the victim of man's unconscious egoism and his conscious duplicity. Men in common with other males are subject at times to a curious psychical condition which is familiarly known as "being in love." The first symptom of this mental disorder is an entire incapacity to perceive the truth. He creates an ideal woman, the woman of poetry and other romantical writings. He attributes to her, or rather projects into the ideal, his own qualities of truthfulness, modesty, justice, charity, sympathy, fortitude, and beauty. To employ the jargon of the theologians, this ideal woman is anthropomorphic. A man who is in love with a woman is really in love with himself, but neither the one nor the other is aware of the fact. He begins by deceiving himself and ends by deceiving her, for a time at least, and her future life consists in the employment of every resource to encourage and maintain the fiction. It is not the real woman whom he loves, but a spurious personality. To succeed in retaining this love, she is obliged to live the life of the image which he has created, and ends by destroying her inner self. And yet, under present conditions, that woman succeeds best who is most successful in maintaining this illusion in the minds of both.

This practice of loving and believing a lie is, I suspect, the *fons et origo* of all that is evil in our civilization. Few men and no women are free from the vice. Even the intelligent fall into the easy habit. In an important city the editing of a newspaper was entrusted to ten of the most righteous women to be found therein, and yet they assigned the prize which had been offered for the best expression of appreciation of their labours to a man who affirmed that their literary product would overwhelm the city "with a deluge of sweetness and light." The second prize went to a woman who predicted that much good would be effected "by their wisdom, their wit, and their might." And this leads one to the observation that nearly all writing is an endeavour to minister to this desire for self-deception. Comparatively few men who have attained to the great age of forty years indulge in the pastime of reading. Their experience has taught them that the motive of nearly all writing is the desire for notoriety, either in this life or in the minds of those who are to come. They are wise enough to write their own books; but being wise, they abstain. They regard it as a delusion that all who are capable of reading are also capable of writing. As well might a man believe that he had a peculiar aptitude for herding sheep and playing the bagpipes, because he was born in the Highlands of Scotland. This desire of women to be deceived accounts for that insincere writing which is found in nearly all novels, and in all of those she-papers which fatten upon their credulity. Reading, then, becomes a vapid and frivolous amusement for dazing the mind, and a book no better than a lap-dog.

Nor does art thrive any better than literature in this atmosphere of feminism. Art has to do with the beauty of utility, of truth. A woman learns by instinct, possibly by experience, that personal beauty does not imply morality, and as it is with her own personality she is most concerned, a secret distrust in all beauty, even the beauty of art, is instilled into her mind. Accordingly the pictures which are painted to please her must have a superficial prettiness, and the houses which are erected for her use will best serve her purpose if, instead of simplicity, they display a decorated cosiness and have sufficient cupboards for the accommodation of her cast-off finery. The superfluous top-hamper of civilization, which makes living difficult for the rich and impossible for the poor, continues to burden humanity because women will have it so. A world of iniquity is created out of their desire for change. It is not love of beauty which suddenly reveals to a woman that last year's adornment is hideous, but the desire to change one form of ugliness for another. If she possessed that sense of beauty which comes from sincerity, and that in turn from freedom, she would once and for all agree upon some practice of adornment combined with utility, which would have a reasonable degree of permanency, rather than submit to the tyranny of an organized band of mercenaries, who exist for the purpose of exploiting her femininity. This passion in women for splendid apparel arises from their suspicion that they are not in reality beautiful, but have only been told so by men whose senses they suspect are dulled by passion.

The value of the exercise of the suffrage by a woman is that it will serve to emancipate her from herself in so far as it emancipates her from men. In the present state of affairs, which is based on the Oriental conception that a women is a chattel, a private possession, born to serve and be dependent upon man, she has no complete existence in herself. She obtains the sense of full existence only through her husbând and children, just as the Mussulman woman attains to the chief desire of her heart if she is chosen to give a son to the Padishah. She stands ready to be made wife or mother, that she may acquire that gift; and her love is the mental sense of satisfaction that she is about to be redeemed.

Looked at narrowly, this attempt on the part of women to emancipate themselves would appear to be nothing more than the expression of a desire to enlarge the range of their caprice, for which not even marriage, the old sovereign remedy, is any longer efficacious. In reality the reason lies much deeper. It is a blind striving for the pure air of freedom, for escape from a bondage in which only the qualities of the servile have had room for development. Until women cease to believe the pretty lies which men tell them, that they are only a little lower than the angels, and discover the real bondage, their own nature, from which they must emancipate themselves, they will not proceed with any degree of seriousness. They will not convince the world until they themselves are convinced. Analysis they consider detraction, and fly from investigation in wild alarm. Upon this subject there is a considerable body of information in the writings of satirists, dramatists, and theologians, ancient and modern; but it is decried as slander, whether uttered by St. Paul, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, or Otto Weininger.

This violent effort to attain to freedom is bound to be associated with a form of disorderliness which the common mind describes as hysterical. All disorder in itself is bad. It is intolerable only when it is meaningless. It is decried because it is misunderstood. Any consideration of the mind of the suffragette would be quite inadequate without some mention of those complex manifestations which are known as hysteria. Of this too I shall offer an explanation in support of my argument. It is a sign of the striving after a higher morality, of an attempt to "convert nothing into something," to put on a new nature, to acquire personality, distinction, character, and mind. Up to a certain point the woman accepts her femininity and all that is inmplied thereby with unquestioning obedience, taking it at its masculine value. In the absence of an external controlling influence there comes a divine discontent with that negative condition of existence, and she becomes imbued with moral ideas which are foreign to her normal mind and opposed to her real nature. In reality she puts on a superficial, sham self, and yet is incapable of perceiving the spuriousness of it. This new personality shows itself in self-confidence, independence, assertiveness, a punctilious sincerity and capable candour in speech and action. This artificial imitation of the masculine morality with which she has over-laid her femininity, at the touch of some rough reality flies in pieces, and the conflict between her real nature and this unnatural self produces those phenomena which are known as hysteria. It is a contest between what she knows to be true and what she suspects is false.

This demand for the suffrage is in reality an attempt to arrive at a higher morality, to attain to consideration in virtue of goodness and not of charm. The real opponents are the women who master men by that easy device, and all men who find it so comfortable to succumb, because they find it so alluring. There is an active and a passive conspiracy working to the same end that women shall not be free. There is no creature in the world so irritating to the woman who is merely good as the woman who is merely charming, and therefore in a condition of negative morality. The most efficient means to destroy the force of any charm is to investigate its origin, a task to which those who are striving for emancipation would do well to apply themselves. It is not enough that they have relinquished this quality in themselves. They can succeed only when they have removed its possession from others. The struggle for freedom from their own nature will not be easy. The habits acquired during countless ages are all but ineradicable; yet progress may appear in the exchange of one bondage for another. One would say that the noble army of martyrs who have attacked the inner sanctuary of the British Constitution had emancipated themselves from every restraint and destroyed the last attraction between themselves and living men; and yet their next act was to bind themselves with physical chains to those stone images of male humanity which stand in the Hall of St. Stephen. This thing is an allegory.

I am not blind to certain perils which lie in the way; but I think they have been exaggerated and will tend to cure themselves. Voting implies being voted for, and men are so fatuous that they will vote for the woman who has a pleasing personality and skill in the adornment of her person, rather than for a candidate of commanding intellect and skill in the public use of her tongue. Then will arise another noble band of martyrs after the discovery of how little men's votes for women are influenced by reason and how much by charm. They will declare that men shall no longer have the opportunity of being silly, and they will banish their charming sisters from public life.

There is nothing which a man who is left to himself desires so ardently as he desires the feminine. To attain to it he will commit the last infancy, descending to the level of the beast from which he has arisen, even whilst he despises himself for the surrender of that morality which he has so laboriously acquired. This interdependence of good and evil constitutes the riddle of the universe; and yet it is out of this conflict between the lower and the higher that our civilization, as we know it, has arisen. The woman exercises her power by means of a charm by which she allures and then captivates. The "fountain" of this charm is love, and its essence "pleasant to the eyes" like that fruit which first attracted the Universal Dame herself. If the power of this charm were unchecked, it would re-absorb the masculine idea into the feminine, so earnestly is it desired by men. It is the business of women to see to it that this charm is exercised with due restraint. Every child knows that a charm is broken by speech, and if the injunction *taceat mulier* were observed, the masculine would be delivered into an eternal bondage. If all women at all times behaved themselves in accordance with the principles of the eternal feminine, which are those of appearance and beauty, men would become so enamoured of it that they would mould their lives by it and eventually transform themselves into women.

Compare the power of the woman who sits, and looks, and exercises her charm in silence and mystery with her who says an insane thing three times over with the intention of being interesting and vivacious, or a foolish thing rather than remain silent; with her who votes and speaks in the councils, even though she speaks with the tongue of a man and reveals all knowledge; with her who brawls in public places, and even gives her body to the Holloway gaol; and we shall discover the essential reason why women should be encouraged to do these things, namely, that they shall be induced to tell the truth about themselves and so liberate men in some degree from the power of their charm, that reason may govern life.

The women who are not satisfied with the status of wife and mother and are striving to educate themselves into fitting "companions" for their husbands and sons by attending lectures and reading magazines are unaware of the power of this charm, and are suffering from an exaggerated notion of the kind of companionship for which men are capable. They magnify the masculine intelligence unduly. What a piece of work is a man! they exclaim in rhapsody, how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty, in form and moving how express and admirable, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god, the beauty of the world! In reality this "paragon of animals" desires a woman more ardently than he desires a talking book, agreeing, if he is sensible, with that eminent divine, John Calvin, when he declared: "The only beauty that can please my heart is one that is gentle, chaste, modest, economical, patient, and finally, careful of her husband's health."

The real grievance from which women suffer is that their authority and claim to consideration is based upon a principle which is non-ethical and of no inherent value in their eyes. Their way of escape lies in convincing men that they also should arrive at a like estimate of its fallibility. This can best be done by setting up truth in opposition to falsehood, which is the most subtle method of iconoclasm, the most powerful for breaking down an eidolon in which the affections are inordinately fixed, since the deity and the devotee can then make mutual inferences. To keep the matter scientific and impersonal, they might begin by an investigation into the nature of the troglodytic woman, disclosing her characteristics, assigning them to their proper cause, and estimating what proportion still remains. The opinion requires corroboration that women have been more successful than men in purging away those qualities which were inherent in the primitive nature. Indeed to the most careful observer there is some evidence that jealousy has not entirely given way to justice, heartlessness to charity, pride to dignity, shamelessness to modesty, selfishness to sympathy, and the desire of provoking compassion to a self-reliant fortitude.

This investigation might properly be undertaken by the various Councils of Women, even at the risk of excluding those subjects upon which they possess no especial information, such as the effect of narcotics and intoxicants upon the masculine frame. A frank pronouncement from this high quarter would be free from the taunt that it was merely slander, diatribe, or vituperation. To make the enquiry sufficiently extensive, it might be well to appoint a committee of men to prepare an agendum for the meeting, a labour in which I would willingly bear a part, having a desire for specific information upon certain points, namely: why up to a certain age a younger sister dislikes the elder, and between certain ages a mother is averse to her daughter; why the law of modesty in apparel is not constant at nine o'clock in the evening and nine o'clock in the morning; why it is painful for a woman to witness another advancing in social status; why female beauty and an adornment which heightens it does not excite an emotion of universal pleasure; why women make good nurses, if it is not because they are lacking in sympathy.

For women, then, there are two lines of conduct open, and only two. Either they must remain in the cave, as "sisters to the flowers," in an environment suitable for the development of such qualities as may be developed from the essentially feminine nature, an easy docility, a pleasurable obedience, meekness, forbearance, long-suffering, patience, silence; as objects upon which men may lavish protection, kindness, benevolence, affection, and so stimulate their own masculine morality, and redeem themselves in virtue of the love which is created thereby; or they must aspire to a perfect freedom and casting aside the curb of sex and freeing themselves from the tyranny of kith and kin, come out into the world and remain out in the full glare of the sun, ruthlessly exposing their nature to the rough environment whereby its imperfections will be scourged and chastened away. Possibly that nature might perish in the process before a new one was created, and in any event it might be nothing more than a close approximation to the male.

There is no middle station, half in and half out, exposing the evil and doing nothing for its amendment. This tentative standing-ground merely permits of a sudden release of the nature of the primitive woman in all its nakedness unchecked from within and uncontrolled from without. The spectacle is so revolting, I fear, that most women would turn back with grief and hatred of it to their old rule, rather than strive with a full purpose and endeavour after a new obedience. That is the essential difficulty with which those women have to contend, who would lead their sisters out of bondage. Their real enemies are of their own household, who hate to see this revelation that women make of themselves, which affords to vulgar satirists congenial exercise of their irony and scoff, for the torment or amusement of those who, like themselves, by continually regarding humanity as it is, have developed a capacity for analysis at the expense of a certain dryness and hardness of heart.

These satirists smile and whisper in our ear that the emancipation of women is intended only to enlarge the bounds of their caprice; that their performance is of no immediate interest to the man, and only of very remote benefit to the woman; that, when he grows tired of the farce, he will cast her out of the cave and leave her to her own device as he was left in the day of his creation. From this they conclude that a race which allows itself to be brought to such an impasse is not worth reproducing, and we cannot blame them too severely. It is on account of their perception of this fact that the women of primitive communities deal faithfully with their unruly sisters lest a worse thing befall themselves. There is a choice between the good and the best, as there is between the evil and the good; and women must find in freedom compensation for having cast out the imputed sacredness from their lives; and, in watching the gyrations of their souls, some recompense for that calm leisure in which they were wont to dream.

This then is the end of the argument in favour of the suffragette, which is developed out of her own psychology. Women have obtained their places in the world because they are desired by men on grounds which are not of the highest ethical quality; but these are the only grounds upon which men will consent to endure the burden of carrying on a society, about whose invention they were not consulted. We are now—men and women, not as opponents, but as companions, in a misery which we should do our best to assuage by mutual help—face to face with the real problem. Shall we allow the evil to endure, or even suffer the good to remain as the enemy of the best, saying with the sluggard, a little more sleep, a little more slumber; or shall we strive after the higher morality, even losing our life that we may save it?

It is no bar to the argument that it faces the extinction of the species to which we belong. In a question of morality consequences do not count. We did not create ourselves. The responsibility of ceasing to exist does not rest upon us. It is in reality a question of conduct, and upon that we can always get information if we inquire of Him whose genius for right living was such that a large proportion of mankind have agreed upon Him as the chief exemplar and pattern of pure righteousness. The problem presented itself to Him. He answered it in pacific terms. Three times and in separate places are the question and answer recorded in words which are almost identical. What good thing shall I do that I may inherit eternal life; what lack I yet? What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? What shall I do to inherit eternal life? To convince us that the answer is not one of special application, the question is repeated thrice in general terms and so recorded; Who then can be saved? Who then can be saved? Who then can be saved? The answer invariably is that those who would inherit everlasting life, must forsake certain things which are specifically set forth and the enumeration ends in all cases with "women." One is quite prepared to be told that Paul was ill-informed or ill-natured, when he declared that even the intimacy with a woman which is implied by marriage is a drag in the attempt after a higher life, and yet protests, in face of that exegetic feat which attributes the insertion of the fatal word to a monkish hand, that Jesus really meant something when he said that she must be forsaken.

All things are working toward this divine end by making it easy to forsake the woman. As that kind of intelligence is developed, by higher education, as it is called with a certain degree of assumption, which consists in an increased capacity for the recollection of unrelated statements, a measure of value is created which men can understand. They are dealing in their own currency. Pedantry they have already witnessed, and the instructed woman is even less adorable than a professor. An imitation of the garb which is customary in the male at once suggests the form which it is intended to conceal, and a comparison with the standards of abstract beauty. When women place themselves in situations for which they are not qualified by their nature to fill with obvious advantage, they become a ridiculous caricature of themselves. The mind of the suffragette appears to possess a peculiar aptitude for that absurdity which makes a man impatient and finally contemptuous of all femininity, and resolute to adhere to his own ideal. A woman may be foolish and yet be charming. She emancipates herself when she becomes an object of aversion.

THE NAVAL QUESTION IN ITS RELATION TO THE EMPIRE.

An Address by Principal William Peterson, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.C., D.C.L., of McGill University, Montreal, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Feb. 3rd, 1910.

After deprecating the excess of Imperialistic talk sometimes indulged in, and explaining that for him personally Imperialism meant simply the aspiration that the Empire might be enabled to hold together in all the coming time, Dr. Peterson went on to say that Canada was beginning to realize the truth that national growth is dependent on Imperial security. This might be set against statements on the other side, to the effect that all Canada had to do was to go on building up the country, and attending to her own interests, leaving the rest of the Empire to take care of itself. We were either in partnership, with the other component states of the Empire or we were not. We could not have it both ways at once. If we were not in partnership, then Canada could do what seemed best in her own interests just like a man who was in business for himself without any partner.

But if we wanted to remain part of the Empire, we must accept responsibilities and along with them a certain restriction of our absolute autonomy. There was too much talk, at the present time of the need for asserting our individual and separate existence, and of the inalienable rights and privileges of self-government; personally, he would like to hear more of the other side of the story, namely, the responsibilities of nationhood in a partnership of free states. For the true Imperialism was in no way inconsistent with national aims and national aspirations. Referring to the Naval Service Bill, he said he had been a close observer of the current debates at Ottawa, and not being mixed up in party politics, he thought he could offer a suggestion that might reconcile both sides. It was essential that the momentous issue now before the country should be kept outside the sphere of party politics, and that a well-informed public opinion should assert itself in regard to it. However much we might regret the fact, no nation could safely offer at the present day to lie down like a lamb among lions. The King's Speech had just been published, emphasizing the necessity of increased naval expenditure "for the defence of the Empire." It was not a case, as was often stated, of helping the Old Country. It was a question of Imperial security.

Some people seemed to think it was enough to say, "if there is going to be trouble count on us to rally to your aid." But they might be too late. The welfare of the Dominion, with its great volume of ocean-borne trade, counting 63 per cent. of the whole, was obviously bound up with the sea-power and with the continued existence of the Empire. Dr. Peterson congratulated the Dominion Cabinet for the great advance noticeable in its attitude since 1902, when the Canadian Government was not prepared to discuss Imperial defence at the Conference for the somewhat curious and illogical reason that no one scheme of defence could be devised that would suit the circumstances of each and all of the Dominions overseas. He added that it would be, in his judgment, the greatest achievement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's long and honoured career if he should succeed, in spite of obvious difficulties, in uniting the whole country behind him on the subject, including his own Province of Quebec. After quoting the views of the British Admiralty, he referred to the importance of the Pacific in the evolution of human history, which he said could be narrated in terms of sea-power from the Ægean and the Mediterranean to the North Sea and the Atlantic.

The Empire was the offspring of sea-power, and must be defended by all the sea-power that could be made available to that end. It was not very re-assuring to find the outcome of the recent Conference on Imperial Defence expressed in words like the following, which occurred more than once in the report of the proceedings—"Should the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the Empire in a real emergency?" Why, surely if the Empire represented a common interest there should be a desire to defend it on the part of the component states! And as to what was called taxation without representation, they might depend upon it that if those who made so much of this bogey, were offered at the present moment representation in the councils of the Empire, they would probably be the first to run away from the offer. It would be a pity, he thought, if the little Englander, of whom they had heard so much in the past, were now to give place to the little Canadian.

No one, so far as he knew, was advocating a permanent and unconditional contribution by Canada to the Imperial Navy. But it would be two years before the Dominion Government was able even to begin building ships. Why not offer in the interval the equivalent of two battleships to be built in England, and meanwhile let the country study the whole question of getting ready to put the Government's Naval Service Bill in operation. This could not justly be called an unconditional contribution, for it would be easy to stipulate that at the close of the stated period, value should be receivable up to a certain proportion of the gift, in the form of ships assignable to a Canadian fleet unit of the Imperial Navy. On the other hand, it would reconcile both parties and unite the vast majority of the whole country for a common purpose. Dr. Peterson said he was not an alarmist, but something had to be done if we were not to jeopardize that Imperial security which seemed indispensable to our national growth and development. Careless observers often spoke as though what they called the present scare were another instance of the cry of "Wolf." But without any detailed analysis of the present policy of Germany, it was surely enough to recall the fact that within the past few years, Germany had held up both France and Russia, and it was a fact of history that Germany would have intervened in the South African War if she had had the ships she is building now.

We hear many people say that it is great nonsense to imagine that Germany has any intention of attacking

England. Possibly so. But let some complicated question develop in some part of the world within the area of British interests and England will either have to agree with Germany, possibly even to accept her dictation, or else take the consequences of disagreement. It is only with the help of the daughter states that the Empire will be able to maintain anything like what has been known in the past as the two-power standard. If anyone in Canada is inclined to think that this has nothing to do with us, and that we may rely upon the protection of the Monroe doctrine, it would be permissible to suggest that Canada should begin to contribute, if not to the navy of the Empire, at least to the navy of the United States! But the other side of the picture is more pleasing. Let the component states of the British Empire stand together, and before another generation has came and gone, we shall be able, with peace forever as our main interest, to present a united front against any possible foe.

THE COMMERCIAL CONGRESS OF THE EMPIRE AT SYDNEY.

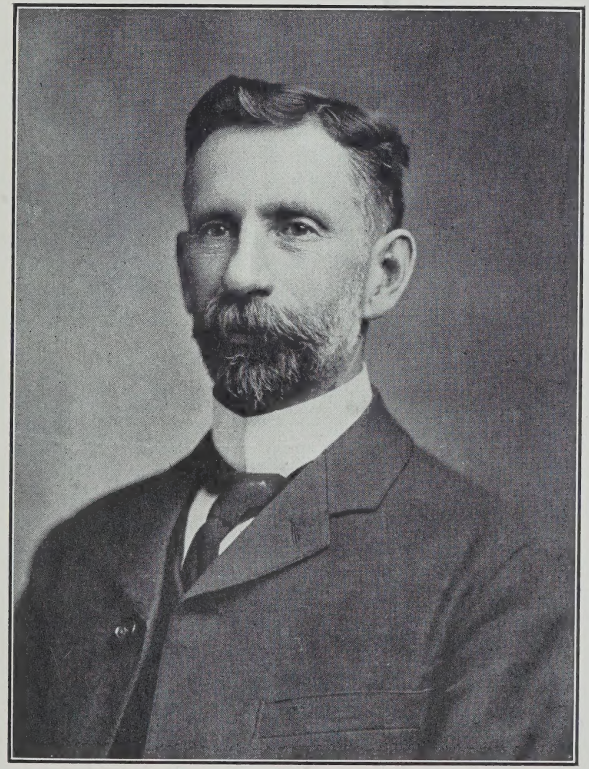
An Address by Mr. W. F. Cockshut, ex-m.p., of Brantford, before the Empire Club of Canada, on Feb. 9th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I deem it a high privilege to be here and to address you for a few moments on a subject that has been so dear to me, and is, I have no doubt, no less dear to you. I speak with regard to the matter of Empire Unity.

I have had the honuor in the interests of the City of Toronto, and the Province of Ontario, and, I may say, the Dominion of Canada, to represent this city at the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, the seventh that has been held, in Sydney, Australia. This gathering was unique in one respect, that it was the first great Imperial gathering held in the Antipodes, which marks it as something of very special interest to our brethren who dwell under the Southern Cross. I may say that though the attendance was not all that it had been in the past in point of numbers, yet in point of Empire spirit, desire for Empire unity, there has never been a gathering out of the seven Congresses, and I think I have had the honour of being appointed to six of them,) that more than equalled the one from which I have just returned.

My time is very brief to-day and you will pardon me if I immediately address myself to the three most important questions that I believe that Congress dealt with out of the fifty that were on the paper. There were three outstanding subjects before the Congress that made a deep impression upon me and, I believe, upon all those who took part in that gathering. They were these; Imperial Preference or Preferential Trade, as it is called throughout the Empire, the matter of Defence, particu-



MR. W. F. COCKSHUTT, ex-M.P.

larly with regard to the Navy, and third, "Empire Organization." These three, Mr. President, I conceive to be the greatest matters that can be considered by such gentlemen as you are. I gather that every one of you is inspired by the spirit of Empire unity. The more I have studied it the more it has grown upon me, and now for nearly twenty-five years, I may say it has been a kind of ruling spirit in my mind to work for, and I was going to say also, if necessary, to die for; because I conceive of no sacrifice that we, as citizens of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, can be called upon to make that we should not be ready to make, rather than that this vast territory that has come down to us from our forefathers should be handed down to our posterity any weaker or any more curtailed in any respect than we received it from the hands of those who went before.

For these reasons I believe that these questions should be treated at one and the same time; that is, trade, defence, and Imperial organization. "Trade," you may say, "why that has nothing to do with sentiment. Cannot we be loyal without it?" Why true, we may be, but I am pointing out to you to-day that without co-operation in trade we are losing every day and every year a vast amount of the resources of this Empire to foreign countries that should be retained in our hands and for our own benefit and for those who follow us. By Great Britain and her Colonies continually sending a vast amount of their trade to our neighbours to the south, or to the rival nation of Germany in Europe, we are deflecting that much capital and muscle and sinew from the Empire to develop outside countries, and it must always be a material sacrifice to ourselves. I, therefore, take it as an axiom against which there can be no satisfactory argument raised, that trade co-operation within the Empire is one of the first duties of Empire men to solve to-day. It will strengthen sentiment—it cannot weaken it. We have been in the position, in the time past, of giving our loyalty to the Mother-Country and our trade to the people south of the Line. That is not as it should be. We should send the larger portion of our trade to our brethren over the sea and to our brethren in Australia. Let me tell you, seventy-five one-hundredths of one per cent. is all that we are sending Australia to-day, or three-quarters of one per cent. of her imports, and we take about one-fifth of one per cent. of her exports.

There is in Australia a people actuated by the same impulses as we are, as Imperial in spirit as we are, under greater difficulties of time and distance, at the same time actuated by that strong British sentiment that I believe is the swaying power in all great dependencies of the Mother-Country to-day. I think there is nothing that we can hold out, independence or any other destiny, that can be held up to Canada that will equal what we can attain if we remain a part of the good old Motherland. Therefore, I say, it is unnecessary for me to dwell for more than this moment upon the necessity of trade co-operation in order that the body politic may be strengthened, because trade co-operation means the passage of more mails, more cables, more inter-travel and closer touch between the various peoples that compose the Empire, than we have at present. It is too rare for us now to see one of our brethren from Australia. Last spring, the Board of Trade of Toronto and the Manufacturers' Association entertained a few delegates, as they passed through Toronto to the Press Conference, but these are rare occasions. I say they might be multiplied and increased to the benefit of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, as well as the Mother-Country, and inter-trade would do all of this.

Before I pass from trade, I should tell you by what majority that principle of which I have spoken was carried in that Congress. We had on the floor of the House at the time the Preference vote was taken, eighty-one Chambers represented, some up to five delegates apiece. When the vote was called for by Chambers, the vote stood this way; 61 for, 7 against, and 13 neutral, the greatest triumph that the Preference policy has ever yet had in any of these gatherings. In Montreal in 1903, it was carried by a majority for the first time; all the other Congresses had turned it down hard. It was carried in 1906 in London by an increased majority. The Englishmen voted for it. We polled a majority of 7 of the British Chambers, so that more than half of Great Britain voted with us on that occasion, and now in Australia we carried it by almost a unanimous vote and voice, because there was only one large city that went against it, and I think you pretty nearly all guess where that one vote came from. Not from Toronto by a long way, but from that old Manchester school. Manchester was the only great city that polled against us on that occasion; the other six were exceedingly small places, some of which had never been represented before at any of the Congresses. Empire Trade, therefore, made a distinct advance.

On Naval defence particularly, the Congress found almost an unanimous voice, and the voice of the Congress as I interpreted it was, that every part of the Empire should bear its fair share in defending the various parts of the Empire. I think that will find a response in Canada. I had the good fortune to have the City of Toronto send a message to that effect, and it was incorporated with the London resolution and was carried almost unanimously. We are in the midst of a discussion in the House at Ottawa on this question. I conceive it is one of the most important questions that has come before us in our life-time, and perhaps, the destinies of Canada and of the Empire may be hidden in those Resolutions that are at present up in the House of Commons more than in anything that has been passed upon in recent years. I think the question we should ask ourselves is "What does it mean? Where are we going?" That is the way it occurs to me.

We have been accustomed within the last twenty-five years, and I believe it is on the fly-leaf of all our school books, to repeat the line from the great English Poet Tennyson, "One flag, one fleet, one throne." There is no allusion there, gentlemen, to many fleets, and any one I think who gives that question serious consideration will say that economically as well as strategically, there can be no argument advanced in favour of a number of fleets, leaving the main fleet weaker than it should be to cope with the strongest enemy. I took that ground at the Congress. Toronto gave me no instructions, but I went on record there, practically in line with our present Leader of the Opposition at Ottawa, that we should present immediately ships and, if necessary, men and money, so that the crisis which I conceive is very near at hand, should be met by us as Canadian citizens and as citizens of the Empire. I took that ground.

I may have been wrong, but I appeal to you, gentlemen, I did it honestly and if you do not agree with me I am sorry, but I did it believing it to be my duty to place myself on record on behalf of Toronto, a city that I conceive to be one of the most Imperialistic in the whole Empire. So I believed it my duty to say that I thought that one fleet for the Empire, and that invincible, was the duty of both the mother and the daughter states. If that is followed out, regardless of what may be going on upon the continent of Europe. I believe that British supremacy will be maintained; but if we persist in the course of establishing small and comparatively weak units of the fleet in various corners of the earth and have not sufficient strength to meet the enemy in the gate where they see fit to strike, I believe that the destinies of the Empire are in a very dangerous condition to say the least, and I would not like to be responsible for prophesying what would be the result if the British fleet met defeat in the North Sea. A serious consideration, gentlemen, and for that reason, if for no other, I believe that an organization such as this, this Empire Club, should be established in all the principal towns and cities in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, and throughout the Empire. There is nothing so much needed in our public life at the present moment as men of Empire instincts and Empire thought; there is nothing that will so repay endeavour, as history writes the page. as the man who sets out with the idea, and has it firmly implanted in his heart, that the British Empire is here to stay and to stay for all time, but that it can only be so maintained by the honesty and loyalty and the intelligence and courage of its citizens in every capacity of life.

Are we, to-day, doing our full duty toward the Empire? I was asked in Australia, "What are we doing in Canada as to Naval defence?" I must say that I had no answer to make. What answer could I make? Absolutely nothing has been done. New Zealand, immediately that she knew a crisis was on, said "One Dreadnought, and if necessary two." Australia immediately moved, and the Imperial spirit that was evinced at that Congress by the delegates from New Zealand and Australia, I tell you, put the spurs into us from Canada to hold up our end, because they were wide-awake to the issue and they feel that they are called upon to make the most strenuous efforts to assist the Mother-Country in every possible way. They are, perhaps, more unfortunately situated than we are; farther away from the strong arm of Great Britain; ten to fifteen thousand miles from Britain's main fleet, with a coast-line of ten or twelve thousand miles entirely unprotected, and with a hostile nation not very far away; you can see that there is more or less uneasiness there, and perhaps, rightly so; and they feel that they are called upon, they are doing their duty in that respect, and are going to present to the Empire what will be a material strength to its naval resources.

I do not say that we should not ultimately have what you might term a Canadian fleet, but I say our immediate duty is to meet the crisis by a contribution that shall be immediately available. After that, if it is thought best to establish a fleet unit here in co-operation with and under full guidance and governance of the Empire authorities, then I do not know but what we would be on right lines. But to be effective we have to be quick and have to do something that is going to be a help. Will a fleet, even if is a good one, that is completed in ten years' time fill the bill? I do not think so. For that reason, I say immediate contribution. We have no shipyards, we have no slips, we cannot build these ships in five years. The crisis may have come and gone by that time. Even if we had a fleet available, the battle might be fought and the victory won before our unit could be there. Strategically and economically one great and invincible fleet for the Empire is the sound and the safe doctrine.

I pass to the third proposition; that is, Empire Organization. We passed a resolution at the Congress in favour of an Imperial Council, that is, gentlemen, so far as I conceive it to be, that we should have one voice while speaking with outside nations or with the enemy in the gate. We cannot speak with many voices and be united. We might be saying different things at the same time. We cannot make our treaties with foreign nations without consulting the Mother-Country, and then, if we get into trouble, expect her to come to our relief. We should have one central power, an organization that would speak with the voice and authority of the Empire in all matters pertaining to foreign nations and to foreign relations, and in that respect I believe that these three things should be all dealt with at one time and together, and if that is done and these three propositions that I have dwelt upon are wisely arranged, are brought into being as they should, and are put in practice as they ought to be and as they can be, I can conceive of no nation that would be strong enough to stand up against the British Empire. Great Britain herself, it may be, is not as strong as she once was—relatively she certainly is not. Her strength lies now as much in her great Dominions beyond the seas as it does at home, because of the men on the soil here who have come to us and have rejuvenated the worn-out existence they went through in the Old Country, who have benefited by a fresh climate and a fresh soil and new conditions, and built up a physical manhood that perhaps had deteriorated from years and generations of dwelling in the crowded cities of Great Britain; because by continually giving new blood to her great Dominions beyond the sea, we can produce not only the necessaries for her support in a material sense, but the citizens that can come in and build up any fibre that may be wasted in the body political or the body commercial—build it up in brawn and sinew and muscle. If Great Britain relies on her over-sea possessions to do that for her and to cooperate with her, I can see no reason why the destinies of the British Empire should not continue, and that for ages and for generations yet unborn, we should have a united British Empire—that we should be able to speak with any enemy in the gate. In conclusion let me just use a few verses that I used in Melbourne in replying to the toast of "Our Guests." I had the honour of responding on behalf of Canada. The poet, Arnold, must have had in view when he wrote them, something of the situation that we are in at the present time:

Before man parted for this earthly strand,
    While yet upon the verge of heaven he stood,
God put a heap of letters in his hand
    And bade him make of them what words he could.

And man has turned them many times; made Greece,
    Rome, England, France; yes, nor in vain assayed
Way after way, changes that never cease,
    The letters have combined—something was made.

But, ah! an inextinguishable sense
    Haunts him that he has not made what he should;
That he has still, though old, to recommence,
    Since he has not yet found the word God would.

And Empire after Empire, at their height
    Of sway, have felt this boding sense come on;
Have felt their huge frames not constructed right,
    And drooped, and slowly died upon their throne.

One day, thou say'st, there will at last appear
    The word, the order, which God meant should be,
Ah! we shall know that well when it comes near;
    The band will quit man's heart; he will breathe free.

The words that the poet had in his mind, gentlemen, to my thinking are these three: "United British Empire." Think of it, strive for it, live for it, and if necessary, die for it!

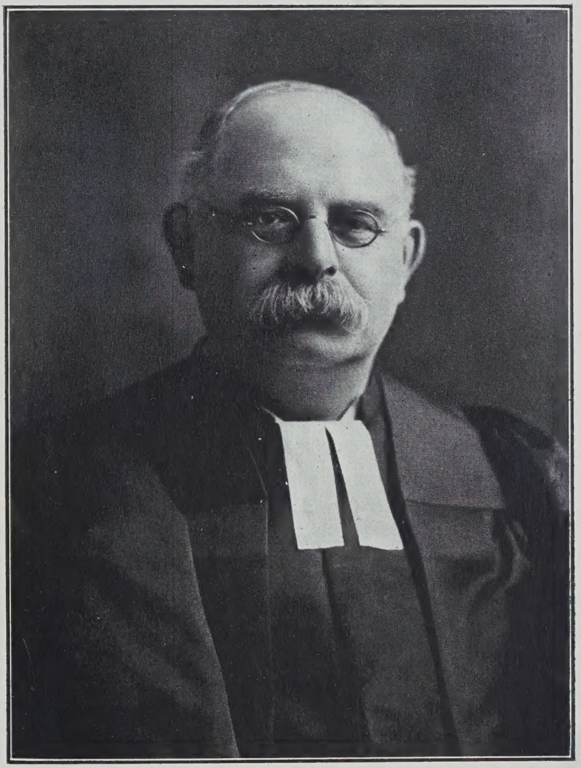
KING EDWARD'S KEYS.

Address by the Rev. Andrew Robertson, D.D., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 13, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I suppose there is no quainter ceremony in all the Empire than that in connection with "the order of the night" at London Tower. In the dark the chief warder, accompanied by a yeoman carrying a lamp, passes from point to point, challenged at every step. When he returns to the door of the ward-house he receives the main challenge of the night. The challenge, as you know, is "Who goes there?" The response comes—"The Keys." Again he is challenged, "Whose Keys?" To which the answer is returned, "King Edward's Keys." The guard then salutes the chief officer, kisses the hilt of his sword—and alone, the warder returns to the Lieutenant with whom he deposits the keys for the night. In darkness and silence the Tower of London stands—the symbol of all lockfast places in the Empire—every one of them subject to "King Edward's Keys."

I believe, sir, I am right in saying that scarcely any monarch ever ascended the throne of Great Britain with more prejudices against him than did our late beloved Sovereign King Edward VII. More doors were closed against Edward than were open to him. Some people had long, long memories and they were not able to forget the early seventies: a few were possessed of different political ideals and did not favour the monarchy: while many more sulked behind closed doors because they did not know what manner of man he was who had become their King. There were closed doors on every hand. To-day, when he lies dead—I presume I am safe in saying—there is no door throughout the wide bounds of the Empire, or the larger and broader bounds of the world,



The Reverend Andrew Robertson, D.D.

that has not been opened to King Edward. He has entered into the affection, not only of his own subjects, but of the citizens of the world—secured not only the confidence of the peoples on "the seven seas," but every nation under the sun—he has entered into the judgment, strong and sane, not merely of his own people, but of the people of the wide, wide world around: and on the day when his remains must be carried to the last resting-place there will be gathered not only seven Sovereigns besides his own boy, but we believe that each of these alien Sovereigns will bring with him the affectionate remembrances of the country he represents.

I submit, Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club, that we stand in the face of something marvellously like a miracle. How has this man, in nine short years, been able to open these lockfast places? It seems to me that it would be well for every member of the Empire, not only members of the Empire Club, to look into this matter, learn how it was the King was able to unlock these closed doors, and master the secret of "King Edward's Keys."

First of all it does seem that the heart of the world, its confidence and judgment, have been opened to "King Edward's Keys"—because of his *tact*. This we hear on all sides. But we must tell ourselves what we mean when we say that our King was a tactful man. We need to recognize tact for what it is and not for what it is not. You will hear it said, for instance, that tact on the part of King Edward was simply manner. You will hear men talk about "the incredible manner" of the King. They say that he assimilated the French mode of behaviour to an Anglo-Saxon environment. If I were to interpret this into common speech, it seems like saying that the King had carried the art of the dancing-master under a London bowler hat. That could not be the secret of King Edward. Not many doors would open to a King like that. Again we are told that tact means nimbleness of mind, sprightliness of wit, the ability to guard an opponent's thrust and turn it against him. Tact saves the situation. I submit that is not tact. Tact does not juggle with words as the conjurer does with cards. It is not mere sleight of mind. It means more than that. Do you remember one occasion when King Edward was in Paris? He had stepped into his carriage amid the cheers of the crowd. Then some one called for three cheers for the Boers. We were then in the thick of that quarrel. Immediately Edward VII. lifted his hat, and thanked them for their interest in his subjects.

That is tact. Tact is not mere nimbleness of wit, mind or manner. Tact is contact. It is immediacy of touch. It is immediate relationship between a man and his surroundings. You can see how quietly the King touched the moment in the incident just told.

Not very long ago a man occupying high place in the Empire, speaking at a great public meeting, was met with an ironical "Hear! Hear!" Immediately he turned on the interrupter and remarked, "Yes; but you are not *all* there." Tact is the power of being all there, it is presence of mind, it is immediate contact with the situation, it is immediacy of contact with personality—nothing between! I am here to say to you, gentlemen of the Empire Club, if we remember King Edward for anything, it will be this—that his bare heart, his naked spirit and soul came into contact with the spirit of his time and made response, royal response, such as has been made of few sovereigns besides. No wonder the doors of his time opened to him. It was mutual—a reciprocity of the highest kind—for he opened every avenue of his own being to the life of the time he sought to serve.

Another of "King Edward's Keys" was his *courage*. I believe, gentlemen, there was no more courageous man in the Empire than King Edward. One remembers when within a few hours of his Coronation—terrible discipline was laid upon him—and he had to lay himself down under the knife of the surgeon. How patiently and bravely he stood the test! The last time I was present at this Club we heard a fine address about Sir Walter Scott. You will not forget how Scott tells the great story of Richard of the Lion Heart. The oriental physician had mixed a potion to check the fever from which the King was suffering, and his courtiers, fearing treachery, urged him to reject it. But Richard had determined to take the risk—refused the advice, and without a tremour drank the draught. No more trying test could be offered to a man. Alongside that action of Richard the Lion-Hearted we are not afraid to put the action of our late revered sovereign. It was a moment of highest concern to himself, and not to himself only but the farflung Empire. The eyes of the world were on him when the cup was struck from his lips. Like a hero, without murmur or tremour, he committed himself to the knife.

But not only in a physical sense did our late King evidence his courage. Call to mind the incident at Marienbad. At a public entertainment something was said or done which should not have been done or said, and King Edward rose from his seat, left the place, in protest against the thing that is impure. If King Edward discovers himself in such an action as that (and I, for one, will leave it to others to say that he does not) then, down in the heart of the man, deep in the royal heart there rooted itself a high sense of principle purity. "My strength is as the strength of ten because my heart is pure." I submit that it is much more difficult to make a protest of that kind than it is for a man to entrust himself in silence even to the surgeon's knife. Let it be remembered that our King stood for what is clean. And we must stand too for that. No more must we carry a stain on our hearts than we would stand for a stain upon "the flag that has braved the battle and the breeze." King Edward's courage reminds us that we must be strong. No real strength can remain when purity has passed.

Along with this characteristic of our King, I think, we ought to place his *intelligence*—for with that key Edward unlocked many a hard-fast door. The man who would make his life tell in the Empire knows how much intelligence is really worth, and how much it is required. A man is not an Englishman simply because English blood flows in his veins. There is in him the possibility of an Englishman. One of the foremost Canadians of the day has said—and said truly—"an Englishman is only an Englishman occasionally." The man who would be English must for himself discover England. He must have the tradition of England and set before himself all the high things for which England is supposed to stand. That can only be done through intelligence. I do not know whether you have thought it worth while to read the correspondence of King Edward's Mother. If you have—then I venture to say you have met with manifold surprise. When the volumes were first recommended to me I said, "I am not going to read these books of gossip about nobodies." I did not know. When I had closed the books I found them full of shrewd historic sense—welling over with the true British spirit, and figuring forth real British ideals as I have found in few other books besides. I believe this is the royal secret. Queen Victoria realized her English citizenship of sheer, hard work. The reading she undertook, the pains she went to in assimilating that reading, the evident effort she made to put herself in the place of all who went before her—that is the secret of Victoria and that is the secret of Victoria's son. If King Edward be truly represented he has helped the nation by his real intelligent good sense—more perhaps than any other Englishman of his time. It is for us to emulate. No wonder he found his way into the affection and judgment of those over whom he ruled. He held the key. This is one of the many issues of honest and intelligent toil.

I did intend to say something about the *good humour* of our King. Many a door yielded to that key which otherwise had remained hard and fast. I do not myself know of any little story of our time which sets before us the true inwardness of King Edward's nature better than the story of what happened in a certain school-house. The scholars were going over the Sovereigns of the Empire, picking out this one and that, and in a sentence characterizing their greatness. Some one named Edward. Putting his hand on the scholar's head King Edward said, "Well, my boy, and what great thing did he ever do?" The little fellow hesitated a moment and then looked up into the King's face and said reluctantly, "Please, sir, I do not know." To which Edward responded intently, "I don't wonder at that, my boy. Neither do I." There is in that, surely, a window opening into the heart of the King betraying the good, honest nature of the man. There was a certain critic—Scotch by the way—who preferred Burns to Byron. Some one suggested one quality in which they were both tolerably alike. "Yes," said he, "but if I turn to Byron I get foreign filth, while in Burns there is only good, honest Scotch dirt." It is that "good" and "honest" that catches me. And it does seem that we have had in King Edward a man of good, honest, red-blooded human nature. It is because of the way he has carried himself—with unfailing good humour, sometimes in circumstances fitted to try the patience and temper of the best—that he has commanded an entrance into the heart of his people and the judgment of the world more than any other sovereign of his time.

The last key I venture to name is one of pure gold. I have kept it of set purpose to the last. I refer to the sheer *truthfulness* of King Edward. You remember what John Bright said of his Mother: "Queen Victoria is the most absolutely truthful human being I ever met." It was not only that she spoke the truth. She *was* true. It was an Irishman who said, "King Edward is a good man." To which his companion replied: "He is more than that: he is the son of his mother." So, indeed, he was, and in nothing more than in his loyalty to the truth. We can see, for instance, that he was true to his principles. When he stood in his Mother's place for the first time he said, "I am determined to become a constitutional sovereign." Never from the moment when he accepted that responsibility until he laid it down a week ago to-day did he fail in that. We have been told again and again that there never will be a British sovereign who will dare to interfere with the British constitution. We have been so long used to the rule of a woman like Victoria that so it seems to us. But if you put on your throne a strong man—a man of judgment, political sagacity and insight—a man of ambition—who is going to prophesy the result? You and I know that during the reign of Victoria there were things done that have not yet found explanation: we know of statesmen of Victoria's time whose memoirs have never yet been given to the world. There were "hidden things" even in Victoria's day. Now in spite of his opportunity, his ambition, the King kept his faith and truth. He laid his sceptre down a week ago to-day and passed unstained—true to himself and his station and his principles till the end.

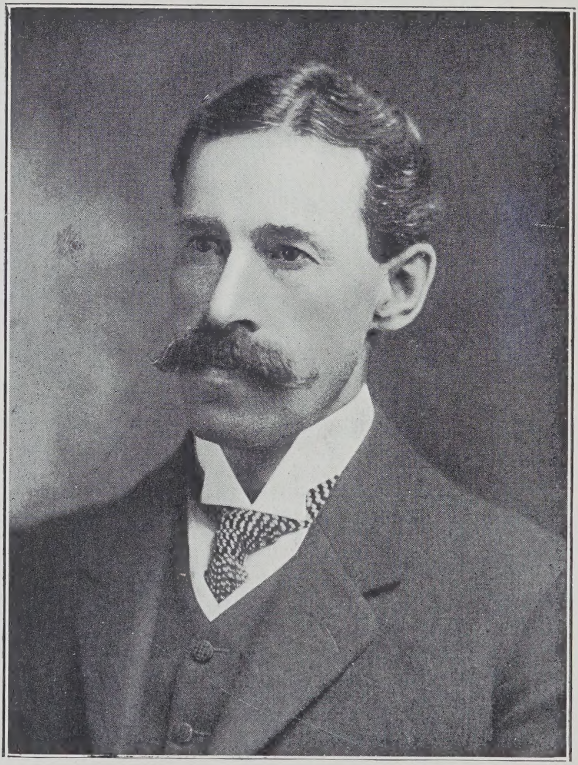
It is not my design to say much concerning the *discipline* of the King, and the truth he maintained in relation to that. Discipline is just another name for the means by which life takes men in hand—trains, schools, educates them, teaches them the real nature and value of the precious things that never pass. That's what we mean by discipline. Now it is not for me to pry into such secrets as these. But there is one thing we do know, for we shared the discipline with him. We do know that there was immense significance in that marvellous interference which set back the hour of Edward's Coronation. The King does not seem to have forgotten it. And it was not that there were no temptations to put it into the background. Perhaps you have forgotten. But let me remind you that some of the foremost teachers of our time misunderstood that terrible discipline and gave to King and people counsel which was simply a menace to the country and to our time. They said this: "For the future we think, as well as hope, that the King will be judged by comparison with Kings as they have been, rather than by comparison with the ideal which each man sets up in his own mind of Kings as they ought to be." Can you conceive anything more vicious than that? It meant that we were to let down the standard. If that were done, who was to say where the lowering would cease? Compare him with Kings as they have been! With whom, for instance? With "Napoleon the Little" and "Abdul the Damned?" So far as Edward was concerned, the standard remained. He did not lower his ideal. Dead to-day—but he died true to the discipline that was his.

It needs to be said that the King was true not only to his principles and his discipline but also to his vision. Edward saw things that touched him, moved him, transfigured him. One who saw him on his first public appearance as King cried, "Prince Hal is dead and no mistake!" Another who saw him emerge from the Abbey after the Coronation said, "He looked to me like a man who had seen a vision." And surely he had. As he sat then in the chief place of Empire he must have seen such things as he had never seen before. There met in him "the magic cord of Kingship . . . the varied threads denoting the lines of Cedric and Alfred—of the Norman and the Plantagenet—of the Tudor and the Stuart and the Guelph." Every one of these great names is in itself a word of vision and of dream. How many of us remember, for instance, that Edward was of the Cedric line and that the descendants of Cedric had been independent princes for three hundred years when Charlemegne died. No wonder a man in such a position should have had upon him a vision whose power never lifted itself from his spirit. These high traditions held him. "He made good." We own the bare truth of his words long to be remembered. "I stand with my back to the wall. I will fight it out. I have done my duty."

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Empire Club, I thank you cordially for the way you have received what I had to say. There is just one word more. From beside the royal bier there comes to us to-day a voice full of tears. The Queen says! "Remember me!" I venture to say I am expressing the sentiment of every member of this Club when I reply—"Royal lady, can we ever forget thee?" We look back on the time when she came to us across the northern foam of which Tennyson sang long years back:

For Saxon or Dane or Norman we,
Tenton or Celt or whatever we be—
We each are all Dane in our welcome of thee.

We are still "all Dane" in sympathy. Ian Maclaren tells of the sympathy which met Margaret Howe when she laid her boy under the sod in the Scottish glen. "There is only one heart in Drumtochty, and it is sair!" Our response to Alexandra to-day is like that. "There is but one heart throughout the Empire, and that, with thine, is sair."



Mr. P. D. Ross.
Editor Ottawa *Journal* and Delegate at Imperial Press Conference, 1909.

SOME DEDUCTIONS FROM THE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE.

An Address by MR. P. D. Ross, Chief Editor of the Ottawa *Journal,* before the Empire Club of Canada, on Feb. 17, 1910.

Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club,—

I beg to thank you for the invitation to come here today to say something about the Imperial Press Conference of last summer. The Imperial Press Conference, in a sense, is a dead thing. The world moves, and since that Conference we have had other issues arising in Canada and England which have put the Conference pretty well out of mind. But, perhaps, there are some things to be said about it, some morals to be drawn which are worth drawing, and I won't attempt to give you any account of the Conference, nor any description that might interest only its members, but will try to mention some of those things from which there are deductions to be drawn.

Hustled through England as we were, one of the dominant impressions produced was of the diminutiveness of the country. I sat in a motor car with one of our hosts who has a place near the south coast of England and he remarked that if the police would allow him, he had a friend in Wales with whom he would like to have lunch occasionally. His car was running at that time on the Southampton road at a speed of 56 miles an hour and was capable of more, and it would have been quite possible for him to take breakfast on one coast of England, to run across England at its widest part, take lunch and be back for dinner, or from the southmost coast of England to the northernmost you can go between daylight and sunset in an average car. I mention these particulars because you might otherwise have an idea that, perhaps, I was stretching a point; and I had an illustration of the fact that sometimes one's hearers think you are stretching a point in an experience I had in Glasgow. Having been speaking there in response to the toast of the Conference, I had mentioned that one good feature of that Conference was not only to make Canadians acquainted with Australians, South Africans, and New Zealanders, but to make them acquainted with each other; that there were some of my colleagues from Canada whom I had not known by sight before coming to England; that one on the Pacific coast, Mr. Nelson of Victoria, when we were both at home, was as far from me as Egypt was from England; and that on the other side, my colleague, Mr. Macdonald, from Halifax, was as far from me as Russia was from Glasgow. And after the banquet was over, one of our Scotch hosts, who had been dining pretty well, came along and held out his hand and said:

"Man, I congratulate ye on your speech, but I wadna like to hae ye sweer to all ye said."

"Well," I said, "You can measure it on the map."

He said, "I will."

The next day we were taken on a trip by the Glasgow Corporation. This gentleman was on board, and he had not forgotten the night before. He said, "I measured that on the map. I put one corner of Canada down on Egypt and it stretched across the Mediterranean and across Europe and across England and jutted out a thousand miles into the Atlantic Ocean." That was an excellent illustration of what this country means. And when we consider, we who know our own resources, that we have a country of that size, we need not be afraid to undertake any reasonable share in co-operating in the defence of the British Empire.

The subject of the Imperial Press Conference is so large as regards the experience we had and the morals to be drawn, that it is difficult to know where to begin. During the three weeks of the Conference we heard practically every big man in England in the political line, every big man in the newspaper line, many of the great Generals and Admirals, and a good many of the leading men in industry and commerce. We heard them all in the space of three weeks, and speaking to us, not in any perfunctory way, but on matters of great moment. And it was a little surprising to us in the Conference that this great attention should be so, because we of the Conference realized that in a measure we were mere accidents, that individually we did not amount to a great deal, being only units drawn from dozens of other men of our own class in our respective countries, and it was difficult for us at first to understand the reason why we were made so much of and why all these leaders of English public opinion took the trouble to do us honour; why we were given a triumphal march across England, and why there was a parade, for our inspection, of the most powerful naval armament that ever rode the waters of the ocean. The key was given at the first big occasion of the Conference—the inaugural banquet at London—where Lord Rosebery spoke, and after picturing the armed camp of Europe said to us: "Tell your people of the pressure that is being put upon this little England to defend herself, her liberties and yours. Take this message back with you, that this Mother-Country is right at heart, that there is in her no weakness and no failing, and that she rejoices to renew her youth in her giant Dominions beyond the seas. For her own salvation, England must look to herself, and failing that she looks to you."

These words gave us a cue to the treatment which was being handed out to us. We had come at a critical juncture, when England was stirred up for exceptional international reasons. We of the Press Conference, did not amount to a great deal in ourselves, but we could be made use of as a megaphone, as it were, to reach the Empire—and we were. The moral I take from that is, that the British political genius seized that occasion with characteristic intention, for the basic political British idea is free speech and appeal to public opinion.

I have heard most of our great public speakers, Laurier, Foster, Tupper, Sir John Macdonald, Chapleau. I have heard Mr. Bryan, the greatest orator across the line, Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, and I heard in England nearly all the great public speakers there. Lord Rosebery is the king of them all as an orator. He produced an effect upon us at that inaugural banquet which was almost, in a sense, as mysterious as he is himself. When he was through there was a lump in my throat and I found that many of my fellow delegates had been similiarly affected. When the thing was over, Lord Rosebery, who had come out of the invisible to speak at that banquet disappeared again into the invisible. We never heard anything of him again in connection with the Conference or in other public affairs. Of the other public men we heard we were not impressed by them as orators, though we were very deeply impressed by their personalities, and by what they said—particularly by Mr. Balfour and Sir Edward Grey, and the style of these men was typical of the English public style as we found it.

When Mr. Balfour started addressing us at the Constitutional Club in London, for the first few minutes the sensation was one of disappointment. He started out in a sort of conversational way. Then you began to realize that what he was saying was extremely compact and logical, that he was steering towards a certain point. Later, you felt that he was feeling that every word was of great consequence to those who were listening, and to England and to Europe. And when he was through, while he did not put a flourish or a florid phrase into his speech, you felt that you had listened to one of the great personalities of the time, and that if any ordinary after-dinner speaker were to get up and attempt to speak in the ordinary flamboyant manner, you would feel like throwing a brick at him.

The whole English public speaking was of that character. I think in all of our experience there, we heard only one after-dinner story. As it happened, that was a pretty good one, or perhaps it appealed to us as newspaper men. It was a story told by Lord Crewe. He said that he had a friend, an English Peer, who had given all his life to the development of Jersey cows. He had spent a great deal of time, and money, and energy in trying to develop a cow which would give a larger quantity of milk than anybody else's cow could give, and he thought that he had succeeded pretty well, until one day he picked up an American newspaper and read of a cow in New Jersey which was giving day in and day out about 50 per cent. more milk than his cow. The Peer mentioned this to Mr. Evarts, who was the United States Ambassador in London. Evarts said, "I don't see why you need to worry. Surely you don't think it is possible that any English cow could give as much milk in an English bucket as an American cow can give in an American newspaper? (Laughter.)

The biggest thing we saw in England, and the most impressive, was the parade of the fleet at Portsmouth. The Admiralty gave us a special train from London to see that parade. It was a large train; quite a number of English people going down as well as members of the Press Conference. I was sitting in one of the cars when a short gentleman came in, in a blue serge suit, straw hat, turn-down collar and bow tie. He said to the porter, "Have you a spare seat in this car?" "No," was the somewhat curt reply, "Try some other car, please." The short gentleman turned without comment, (although I think there were vacant seats, and that he suspected it) and went out. We got to Portsmouth and were escorted across the docks to our special steamer, when I noticed the same gentleman coming along with us, and I thought he had made a mistake. We filed on board and he got on with the rest of us and went up to the bridge. I was standing close by when he said to the captain, "They are all on now, captain, look sharp, be off." It was Sir John Fisher, the first Lord of the Admiralty. Now, this proved to be, as we thought, rather typical of the British Navy. There was no style, no pretence, no affectation—officers and men alike were all business-like and matter of fact, entirely free from gold lace and flummery. They were keen, sharp, hard-looking men, officers and sailors all, the sort of men who give you the impression, even if you know nothing of ships and machinery, that no opponents they might meet would have the better of them in *personnel.* One of our fellows remarked, "I don't know what the Russian Navy is like, but I bet the Japs wouldn't have a picnic with these men."

There were in that review at Portsmouth, one-hundred and forty-four ships of war with forty-two thousand men on board. It was the Home Fleet of England, the section of the Navy ready to go into action on an hour's notice. There are other British fleets, but every ship in that fleet had been started within ten years. Every ship had been launched within seven. The cost of these one-hundred and forty-four vessels was $450,000,000. The annual cost of the British Navy, the current cost of maintenance, is $90,000,000 a year, so that during the past ten years, if we consider merely the cost of that fleet and the annual maintenance of the navy, Britain has put up for Naval defence in ten years, $1,500,000,000, where we in Canada have put up—not as many cents! And we in Canada propose during the next four or five years to spend a couple of million dollars a year where the British programme embraces, besides the $90,000,000 annually for maintenance, a construction cost of probably $200,000,000. In other words in the next four or five years the British people will put up from $800,000,000, to $1,000,000,000, on the Navy, and we will put up about $10,000,000. They will put up about 100 times as much as we will. They have perhaps six times our population.

The Press Conference saw the great industries, the great waterways, the great mills, the great educational institutions. I want to hurry on to speak of another matter—the reverse side of the picture—the question of paupers, and the unemployed, and of drink, and of the slums. The first thing, it seems to me, we have to remember in discussing a question like that, is, that it is a comparative question—that no man is justified in looking at one side of the shield and giving to the world the impression, without examination of the comparative facts, that that is the striking side of the shield. All questions of human distress are comparative in two ways, comparative as regards the conditions which surround them, and comparative as regards efforts which are being made to overcome them. Now, with that as a prelude, I will give you my impressions of what we saw in England on this question. But I would like to emphasize, first, exactly what a tremendous industrial centre Great Britain is, and it is not easy to realize. I sat next the Chief Engineer of the Manchester ship-canal at a luncheon at the City Hall in Manchester, and he said to me, "Have you been much through this district?"

"No," I said, "we came yesterday from Sheffield by motor, and my chief surprise was that there were so few people around."

He said, "If you take a compass, place one leg where we sit and describe a radius of forty miles with the other, you will have the most thickly-populated part of the earth's surface."

I said, "Do you mean to say more populous than London and its neighbourhood?"

"Yes, a radius of forty miles from this point here, takes in from ten to eleven millions of people. The same radius from any point in London may take in eight or nine millions."

He added: "You have Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and a whole lot of other manufacturing cities. It is a fact, that this is the most thickly-populated part of the surface of the earth." And of course, it is a part of the surface of the earth which is occupied by industrial effort, which necessitates a very large manufacturing population and which is probably and necessarily accompanied by more or less human distress, owing to such an aggregation being affected constantly and seriously, by fluctuations in trade and business. Similiar conditions prevail everywhere in Britain. In Glasgow they pointed out to us one shipyard which was idle and they stated that it had been idle for a few months, but expected to resume shortly with one of the new Dreadnoughts. I asked how many men were employed, and they said, "six thousand," which means a population of thirty thousand people for temporary reasons. These were in distress at that moment. Then we saw at Sheffield, a branch of the Vickers-Maxim Works, a company which employ 25,000 first-class mechanics, meaning a population of 125,000 people dependent upon that single industry, and if, through lack of brains at the head of the industry, or through trade conditions, that industry were to collapse, it alone would produce a large amount of distress. England is full of these things, so that any fluctuations in business must necessarily produce a considerable amount of distress. One recalls the Scotchman who was arguing with a neighbour from Europe about what Scotland had done in the world, and the other man said to him, "The statistics of illegitimacy in your country are higher than in mine." And the Scotchman said, "may be—but there is always more dirt around a steam-engine than around a teapot." England is a mighty steam-engine.

I have no wish for a moment to minimize any distress that exists in England or to say that there is not enormous room for good work, for organized effort there to meet the social wrong. But after noting on my return to this country that one of my colleagues, Dr. Macdonald of *The Globe,* had published the impression, (given me the impression, perhaps I should say)—that poverty, pauperism, drink, were a cancer eating into England, constituting good cause for apprehension as to England's decadence, I was staggered, and after I read his article, I took the trouble to go a little into the statistics of these things.

Let us take pauperism first. There are to-day, forty-five million people in the British Isles, and the appalling figure of a million paupers. If you consider that figure alone, then perhaps you might feel, like Dr. Macdonald, that this thing is almost hopeless. But, if you look back fifty years to the decade between 1850 and 1860, you will find that though the population was half what it is now, pauperism was greater; that there were more paupers, more people receiving charitable relief then than now, though the population has doubled; that thus during the past fifty years the proportion of pauperism has enormously decreased; that the decrease has been steady and proportionate; and you will find this further, that, whereas fifty years ago, of the pauperism of England, 13 per cent. was adult male pauperism, to-day the percentage is only 3 per cent. of adult male pauperism—in other words that only one-quarter as many able-bodied men receive pauper assistance in England to-day as did fifty years ago.

Now, come to the question of drink. Tourists go through Glasgow on a Saturday evening and come back with eyes bulging, proclaiming the impression that all Scotland gets drunk at the week-end, and I have no doubt there is an enormous amount of drinking in Glasgow, but anyone who says drinking prevails in Great Britain to such an extent as to undermine the energies of the people—that drink here is a more serious thing than in other countries—is wrong, if official statistics are reliable, for the statistics contradict it. The drink bill of England per head is no more than that of the United States per head; and as a matter of fact, of all the great nations of civilization, England and the United States stand at the head if the statistics of drink are correct—with the exception of Canada. Canada is the most sober country in civilization, England and the United States come next. The drink bill of Great Britain is less per head than that of Germany, France, or Austria.

Take the question of sanitation. In 1891, the British Government started collecting statistics of the overcrowding in England—that is, the number of tenements or buildings in which there were more than two occupants to each room. They have kept the statistics since. The figures for 1907, show that while the population had increased three and a half millions approximately since 1891, the number of people living in overcrowded houses was six hundred less than in 1891.

If you take the question of health, because we are told, to use Dr. Macdonald's words, that masses of the people of the Mother Country look "helpless, hopeless and anaemic;" the statistics of longevity, which are necessarily dependent on the statistics of health, show that the British people are among the healthiest of all nations. The mortality of England is about fifteen per thousand, which is about the same as that of the United States and less than that of Germany or France. If you take the question of wages, statisticians assert that during the past fifty years the wages of British workmen have increased on the average eighty-one per cent., while the cost of necessaries of life has grown by barely ten per cent. more than it was fifty years ago.

No nation with a cancer eating at its heart, of crime and poverty, pauperism and disease, could be prospering tremendously. Great Britain does so prosper. The British income tax, fifteen years ago, was levied on $3,500,000,000. Last year with no new methods of application or collection, the income tax was levied on $5,000,000,000. In fifteen years the taxable income of the British people has increased $1,500,000.000. If you were to capitalize that at 3 per cent., the wealth of the British people is shown to be greater by the enormous, the almost inconceivable figure of $50,000.000,000 than it was fifteen years ago. Whether we consider such figures as applying to the poor or the wealthy, surely there is no fear of British decadence. Surely there is no need to apprehend that that little England is now dying whose few millions of people living in these small islands in the North Sea have been able in the past by their brains and energy and courage, to spread their dominion—and their freedom—over one-quarter of the habitable globe! Surely we can believe that proclamation of that greatest of English orators, "Tell your people the Mother Country is right at heart, that there is in her no weakness and no failing."

I have not spoken so far of the *personnel* of the Imperial Press Conference. It was impossible to be with that considerable assemblage of fine fellows from Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, South Africa, India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlement, as well as Jamaica, Newfoundland, and Canada, without feeling a new pride in the British stock both from what we saw of each other and what we saw of England. Most of us came home far warmer Imperialists at heart than we had been before; some of us who had not been Imperialists were converted. I remember one illustrative incident after the banquet at which Mr. Balfour spoke. Of course many of these speeches dealt with the question of Colonial relations with the Mother Country, but we heard no one in England who did not consider the relations of the Colony to the Mother-Country to be the relations of equals, and no one expressed this more forcibly than Mr. Balfour. Speaking at the luncheon given us by the Conservative members of Parliament, he said: "There was a time when the relations, between the Mother Country and the offspring of the Mother Country were those of parent and child. No politician to-day holds that view. Everybody, so far as I know, recognizes the fact that the parental stage is past. We have now arrived at the stage of formal equality, and no one wishes to disturb it." We were filing out of the dining-hall afterwards, when one of my Liberal colleagues, a staunch Radical who had been, like some others, a little suspicious of this whole affair, this Press Conference, a little inclined to think it a jingo scheme, came up to me and said, "It is all right; they have the right idea—and we'll stand by them." He was converted by his experience from a rather lukewarm critic into a warm Imperialist.

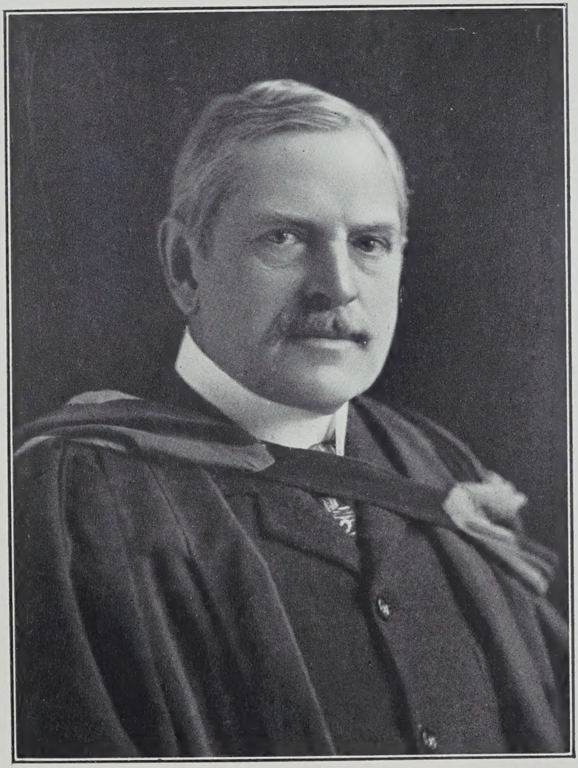
As I say, both from what we saw and heard in England, and what we saw of each other, we all left England more warmly British at heart. England with her multitudinous presentation of the monuments and memorials of her great past, went deep to our hearts. We perhaps did not feel that we wished to become fused or too closely identified with some of her caste or class institutions. We did feel, nearly all of us, the desire more than ever to remain leagued with her courage and energy and honesty, with her independence and self-reliance, with her great history, her great literature, her great and sane freedom. We left England, most of us I know, feeling a new pride in the British name, a new pride in the British fame, a new determination to help it out if we could, and a new hope and a new confidence in an enduring British Empire of world-wide partnership.

THE NEW GERMANY.

An Address by DR. GEORGE STERLING RYERSON, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 24th, 1910.

Many years ago I went as a young graduate to Germany for a course of post-graduate study. During my residence in that country I formed many friendships and opinions regarding the thoroughness, tenacity of purpose, perseverance, and self-sacrificing patriotism of the Germans. I also noted the under-current of mysticism, medeævalism and philosophy which seems inherent in the German nature. During my tour in 1909, I observed many changes, intellectual, industrial and national. These changes I propose to set forth in this paper. But, first let me quote from Fuch's, "The Emperor and the Future of the German People," for the purpose of contrasting the past with the present. He says:

"One is often pained and overcome with longing as one thinks of the German of a hundred years ago. He was poor, he was impotent, he was despised, ridiculed and defrauded. He was the uncomplaining slave of others; his fields were their battleground and the goods which he had inherited from his fathers were trod under foot and dispersed. He shed his blood nobly without asking why. He never troubled when the riches of the outside world were divided without regard to him. He sat in his bare little room high under the roof in simple coat and clumsy shoes; but his heart was full of sweet dreams and uplifted by the chords of Beethoven to a rapture which threatened to rend his breast. He wept with Werther and Jean Paul in joyous pain, he smiled with childish innocence at his native poets, the happiness of his longing consumed him and, as he listened to Shubert's song, his soul became one with the soul of the universe. Let us think no more of it—it is useless. We have become men and the virtues of our youth are ours



DR. G. STERLING RYERSON OF TORONTO.

no more. We can but face the inevitable and overcome it."

But a change has come and the days have gone when Fichte preached the preciousness of poverty combined with spiritual worth. It is the same Germany, but no longer idealistic and philosophic, for Industrial progress requires the sacrifice of ideals and sentiment. The turning point was reached in the Danish, the Austrian and finally in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. Then came the new Empire, the French milliards and the new spirit. Paulson says: "Two souls dwell in German nature. The German nation has been called a nation of poets and thinkers—to-day it may be called the nation of materful combatants." The Germans are pacific. They will not disturb the world's peace if they can obtain their ends by other means. Their objective is economic conquest. Their first move was to modernise schools where English was substituted for French. Its commercial value is undoubted. The dead languages, philosophy and poetry were given a secondary place. It is now the cult of force, force worship, for Bismark said, "All political questions are questions of force." Idealism has given place to materialism and the race for wealth. Germany has many of the faults of young nations—bumtious, self-assertive.

In its political institutions, all power centres in the King-Emperor. He gives little or much as it pleases him. Parliamentary government is only the shadow of power as we understand it. The Ministers are appointed by the Emporer and removed by him at will. Money votes are obtained by combination of parties. Local parliaments are most thought of. The Reichstag is not so well considered. Some jealousy of its powers and of Prussia's predominence exists. Prussia is a most progressive state, yet less broad and liberal than the South German states. Socialism is active, but has lost ground lately. Roman Catholics form a distinct party. The Landowners are conservative to the last degree. The people manifest a keen interest in political questions and elections for 85 per cent. of the population go to the polls.

The English complain of German competition, yet Germany industrially is England's child. English capital, brains and energy built railways, tramways, machine shops, engineering works, gas works, electrical works and shewed the way to build up the industrial nation. British workmen were imported, their brains sucked dry, and let go. The German is not very inventive, but knows how to imitate and improve on what he has learned. Germans work with enthusiasm. Trade is a passion. It occupies their whole thoughts and energies and they are not above their business. If in business, that is the whole thing, and social considerations do not count. The best men do not now enter Government service as formerly. Occasionally business men who are wealthy take Government office. Many of the best Government officials leave the service to direct industrial concerns, attracted by the high salaries. The Germans are successful as business men because they

1. Give their whole thought to work and attention to smallest details;
2. Have a cheaper price for products;
3. Seek a more serviceable character in goods;
4. Have abandoned the idea that the consumer is made for the producer;
5. Solicit business personally;
6. Use progressive methods and most modern plants;
7. Have adapted scientific technique to industrial production.

The iron industry employs 1,200,000 hands. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* states that "in 1880 Great Britain produced more than twice as much steel as Germany. In 1896 Germany produced nearly twice as much steel as Great Britain. Britain's yearly steel production in those sixteen years increased less than five-fold; German steel production increased eighteen-fold. The same writer says that: "One of the greatest of German industries is the manufacture of chemical products. Perhaps the most striking example is that of aniline dyes. Germany exports £5,000,000 worth of these dyes annually, largely made from English coal tars and by a process invented by an Englishman. By the production of synthetic indigo, Germany has thrown out of cultivation 1,500,000 acres of land in India devoted to the growing of indigo. The output of the German chemical industries, not including sugar, is estimated at £60,000,000 of which £20,000,000 is exported. Nearly 200,000 hands are employed and their wages amount to £10,000,000 annually."

They boast that the day of empiricism has gone and that their products are the result of exact science. The influence of Chambers of Commerce is great. The members are elected by all registered firms in a district and have departments in charge of experts, who are the eyes and ears of trade. The Berlin Chamber issues a handbook for commercial travellers, giving all possible information regarding foreign trade, customs, trade routes, etc. Foreign trade is also promoted by the association of foreign export firms who maintain Central Information agencies. Young men are despatched to all parts of the world to learn languages, native habits and requirements and send reports back home and work up the idea that German goods are the best. In Germany are to be found technical training schools of all kinds; building trades, machine building, electrical, chemical, architecture and mining. Saxony, with a population of 4,500,000, has 360 special technical and trade schools besides industrial continuation schools, trade and agricultural schools. The workmen are clean, industrious and cared for. All German workmen crrry two insurances.—1. Accident, where the cost is borne entirely by employers; 2. Invalidity and old age which is borne by employers and workmen equally.

The population was in 1870, 40,818,000, and in 1907, 61,697,000. or a yearly increase from 900,000 to 1,000,000. The causes are, lessened emigration—in 1881, 220,000 emigrated, and in 1906, only 31,000 emigrated—and decreased infant mortality. The annual increase equalled that of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Italy and France combined. Dispensaries are maintained where advice and instruction in infant rearing are given free. Either free or low-cost sterilized milk is distributed. Money is granted to nursing mothers in poor circumstances. Defects of feeding are pointed out in lectures to women. The municipality of Berlin supports lying-in-homes, homes for nursing women. Forest homes are kept for convalescent mothers and infants. Many towns give nursing mothers milk and a meal-a-day free. Various associations aid sick mothers and nursing children. Working mothers are protected by special legislation, and 80 per cent. of infant mortality is thus saved. The relative density of population is, Saxony 780, Westphalia 465, Prussia 236, Ontario 15.09. The French still talk about a war of revenge, but before they undertake it they must first decrease their death and increase their birth rate. For the first six months of 1909, the excess of deaths over births in France was 28,205.

Nothing illustrates Germany's industrial expansion so well as its statistics of foreign trade. In 1880, the total imports for home consumption were £141,000,000 and its imports of manufactured goods, £114,800,000; the exports of manufactured goods were £83,500,000. In 1907, the imports were £443,000,000, the exports £356,000,000. Every year manufactured goods form a smaller proportion of the imports and a larger proportion of the exports. As to Great Britain, she sells Germany £39,000,000 and buys £52,000,000 from her. Germany imports £20,000,000 from the United States and exports £27,000,000. Germany's export trade has been growing at an average rate of £15,000,000 a year. Not only has Germany's foreign trade advanced by giant strides, but its maritime trade is more and more carried in native vessels. In 1874, Germany's share of the mercantile marine of the world was 5.2 per cent.; in 1894, 6.5 per cent.; and in 1905, 9.9 per cent.

Another important indication of Germany's growth is derived from the amount of income subject to taxation. From 1892 to 1905 the British income subject to tax, increased 15 per cent., the German 60 per cent.; British savings bank deposits from 1901 to 1907 increased $85,000,000, while German savings bank deposits increased $860,000,000. (Collier, *England and the English.*)

Germany had formerly a large unemployed population, but since the evolution of the industrial era emigration has been checked. The question then arises how are these people to be fed. There is a constant drift of agricultural labourers to manufacturing centres, their place being taken by several hundred thousands of Slavs and people of eastern Europe. No effort can make the land produce more food products. It is said that there are still 10,000,000 acres of moor lands which might be cultivated and would support about 400,000 people. Germany no longer feeds itself notwithstanding a great increase of native-grown wheat and rye. The deficit in wheat in 1905 was 2,000,000 tons, and rye 500,000 tons. With the ever-increasing population, imports of wheat must be ever-increasing.

It requires no mathematical acumen to see that with an increase of 1,000,000 souls a year, the small German territories will soon be filled to repletion. Fancy 63,000,000 people in a country smaller than Ontario! It is open to the Government to strangle the infants at birth or to acquire more territory. But where? There is the difficulty. The German Colonies in east and west Africa, and in Australasia are not suited to a large white emigration by reason of climate. There is but one great colony-holding power in the world—England. A people numbering 45,000,000 hold all the green places in the earth. She is weak in land force, but is powerful at sea. If Germany were to descend upon and hold the little island she would possess herself of the heart of the greatest colonial empire in the world. Some of the lesser or least protected colonies would fall to her share, giving her an outlet for her surplus population. Failing this plan, she has the alternative of seizing smaller nations. South America offers the most tempting field for such an adventure. Pretexts may not be wanting to intervene in the frequent internecine wars of the South American republics, as England has intervened in Egypt and Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina. What would United States say to this?

Does the Monroe doctrine of to-day extend to South America? The Venezuelan difficulty in 1894 would make it appear that it did. Would England stand by the United States in case of a war with the Germans? Would the United States stand by England in case of a war between Germany and England? Germany has now 400,000 subjects in Brazil, and her trade with South America is very large. My argument therefore is that owing to the superabundant populations confined in a comparatively narrow space in Europe and to the necessity which is growing more and more urgent for an outlet for her people under her own flag and new markets for her goods, Germany is bound to bring on a war with some other great Power at no very distant date. It will be either with England or with the United States, if the latter stand by the Monroe doctrine.

What force has Germany for bringing such a war to a successful conclusion? First, the Army. She had in 1908, 619,606 men with the colours. In other words, 1.17 per cent. of the population is enrolled in the first line of defence, and 98.83 per cent. are engaged in their usual occupations. She claims to be able to put 4,000,000 men in the field in case of war. For transports she has 1,762 sea-going ships with a tonnage of 2,000,000 tons. Second, the Navy. In 1898, Germany had 16 battleships, 20 cruisers and 118 torpedo boats of various classes. In 1908 she had 20 battleships, 40 cruisers, 138 torpedo boats, and a considerable number of submarines. Formerly Germany bought her ships from England, now she not only builds most of her own ships, but builds for other nations. In 1906 there were built in German private yards, 757 ships, tonnage 390,991,—8 were ships of war, and 623 merchant sea-going ships, 2 ships of war for foreign Governments, and 105 foreign merchant ships. The construction programme of 1900 proposes to bring the strength of the Navy by the year 1920 up to 38 battleships and 14 large cruisers; 17 battleships, 6 large cruisers, and 19 small cruisers will be laid down between the present time and 1917. There are now building (1908) 7 battleships, 3 large armoured cruisers, 6 small cruisers, 3 gun-boats, and 24 torpedo boats, and a large number of submarines. Twenty years ago the naval estimates were £3,500,000, but for the next ten years they will amount to £21,000,000 annually. Twenty years ago the Navy was manned by 15,000 officers and men, now it has more than 50,000.

For practical purposes it is the Emperor who directs the naval policy, a power given him under the constitution of the Empire. He said on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Empire: "The German Empire has become a world Empire. Thousands of our German countrymen live in all parts of the globe. German goods, German knowledge, German enterprise go across the ocean. The values which Germany carries upon the sea figure at thousands of millions of marks. It is your solemn duty to bind this greater German Empire fast to the Empire at home." Later, he said, "Imperial power denotes sea-power, and Imperial power and sea-power are complementary, the one cannot exist without the other. Germany advances the right to maintain the Army and Navy which it requires for the maintenance of its interests." The position of Germany was officially stated by Prince Von Bulow in the Reichstag on March 24th, 1908, in the following words: "We do not dispute England's right to draw up a naval programme in accordance with the standard which its responsible statesmen consider necessary for the maintenance of British world maritime supremacy, and similarly it cannot be taken amiss that we should build those ships which we require, nor can we be blamed for desiring that our programme of naval construction should not be represented as a challenge to England." The *Cologne Gazette* recently stated: "If Germany were to suggest to England a restriction of the British programme of warship construction, it would provoke a storm of indignation in England. In the same way, it is not clear by what right Great Britain can exercise any influence over Germany's naval programme."

Now, how does the naval military and industrial development of Germany affect Canadians? Directly as regards trade and indirectly as a part of the British Empire. I have shown that Germany cannot possibly raise sufficient food-stuff to feed the overwhelming and rapidly increasing population. We are raising more wheat and cattle than we can use. Obviously a *raprochement* with Germany would give us an enlarged market for these products. The abolition of the Surtax will give us a greatly increased trade with Germany. I have not the least doubt but that within a few weeks German commercial travellers will cover this country and with their usual thoroughness, persuasiveness and adaptability will build up a considerable trade. Whether this will operate to the advantage of Preferential Trade with England is another matter. Still, if the English will not adopt preferential trade, we must look after our own interests.

As to the indirect influence upon Canada, we must, if we would have peace and if we would maintain our position as an essential factor in the British Empire, we must prepare for war. It seems sufficiently obvious to me that Great Britain cannot continue to compete successfully with Germany in maintaining the two-power standard at sea. England now has forty-five million people, and Germany sixty-three. Germany produces seven children to three born in England. English naval expenditures must reach the breaking point some day. Therefore it is incumbent upon us to do our share of Imperial Defence, both on land and sea, and assume those responsibilities which we, who claim to be a nation within the Empire, should rightly bear.

ENGLAND'S PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS.

An Address by the Rev. W. H. Hincks, LL.B., D.D., President of the Methodist Conference of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 3rd, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

My subject is "England's Place Among the Nations," and I understand you are, in the coming weeks, to have similar addresses on Scotland and Ireland. The average Englishman is not a joker. The New York *Outlook* jibes at the London *Spectator* because of its serious tone. But as a matter of fact, jokers have never become, and remained, great leaders. It was not the Cavalier, with his wit, puns, quips, and jokes, but the earnest Puritan who conquered, colonized, and ruled. England cannot be treated, even in a talk, of her place among the Nations, with that sparkle, wit, and humour which lesser nations inspire in their writers and speakers. When we consider the English people we are prone to self-conceit. But our race fortune was made for us by our fathers, so that in indulging in congratulations we are honouring our heroic sires.

England is great because of the *blood* of her people. England will never be great, like France under Bonaparte, because of the greatness of any *one* man. England's greatness has not depended, as many nations have, on a single autocrat, or even on a single Parliament. Neither does it depend on any one material thing. A nation depending on arms alone must crumble. A nation depending on a constitution alone will outgrow it, and end in revolution. In 1859, Matthew Arnold said: "The French will always be able to beat any number of Germans who come into the field against them." Matthew Arnold forgot that even armies depend on the character of their individual units. England is great because of the character, the high average, of her individual units. I said that England is great because of the blood of her people.

An Englishman is a composite—a composite made up of the adventurous and the daring of great nations.

The Emperor Claudius, in A.D. 43 began the conquest of little England. It took the mighty Roman Empire 40 years to conquer England. Then for 500 years some of the daredevils of the Roman Empire, lived, married, worked, and died in England. So that there is a strain of the world-conquering Roman in English blood. After a time, because of her fine farms, cattle, sheep and industries, England was invaded by the border Scotch. England invited the Saxons over to help her drive back the hungry Scots. The Saxons did so, but as a reward kept England for themselves. Thus the adventurers of Germany settled, worked, married, and died in England. So that there is a strain of German blood in Englishmen. Then came the invasion from Denmark. And the freebooters of Denmark settled, and inter-married with the English, thus giving Englishmen a strain of Scandinavian blood. Then came the chivalry of Normandy. And the Normans remained, inter-married, and became incorporated into the sober all-conquering race. Add to this inter-change of her blood with the great nations the fact that all the English counties along the sea-coast inter-married with the nations doing trade with England. One of the proofs that it is this composite nature of the Englishmen to which they owe their greatness, is seen in the fact that the counties of England open to the sea are the ones which have produced most of the great men of English Literature, the Navy, Army, Parliament, and Industry.

In what things has England proven herself in advance of most of the nations? First, in the social and economic emancipation of her people. The social emancipation of the wage-earning people of England is rapidly taking place. The old forms are preserved. But the real power in England has really passed into the hands of the people. There are more wage-earners at this moment in the Parliament of Great Britain representing England than at any moment of England's history. The present political fight in England will result in the overwhelming victory of the people. The victory will be tempered by self-restraint. The titled wearer of the coronet will accept the situation. He sees clearly, that they, the people, must increase while the aristocracy must decrease.

Travellers in the Alps, sometimes looking down, see copious showers on the valleys. But not a drop on the thirsty heights. So our English aristocracy have seen for years the showers of social blessing descend on those socially below them. In this conflict they will live to look again and add their blessing. It was because the French aristocracy could not do this that France had the Revolution. We must never forget that some of the foremost leaders of the people in their struggles for social and economic emancipation in England have come from amongst the hereditary peers of England. The hereditary peers themselves are beginning to see the folly of making heredity, alone, the condition of advancement in the Nation. In fact England has had a great history because she has frequently set aside the hereditary principle. Alfred the Great is England's greatest King. But Alfred the Great was not the direct heir. He succeeded his brother, Ethelred, though his brother had children living. The law of England then permitted the nation to choose from the Royal House the one most fitted to reign.

England is even more democratic than America. While America laughs at heredity as a ground of social distinction she has accepted and built into her usages the worship of plutocracy. Every movement of a United States plutocrat is recorded in the leading papers; every detail of his daughter's courtship and of her quarrels with her lover is described. So strong is the growing democracy of England that they refuse to allow the great trusts which make plutocrats even to get a foothold there. A couple of years ago a $60,000,000 soap trust was launched in England. But so chilly was its reception from the people that its promoters were glad to wind it up. And the most popular man in England, the most dearly beloved in England is her King. Can this be said of the German Emperor? Can it be said of the

King of Belgium? Why does the Sultan of Turkey require 15,000 troops to guard him every night while he tries to take a nap? Why does the Czar of Russia travel in an iron-clad train? Why had a recent President of France to take 60 detectives with him on every railway journey? Why did even the last German Kaiser sleep with a loaded revolver under his pillow? How is it that King Edward requires none of these precautions? It is because England is really a democracy freeing her people slowly but surely from social and financial servitude.

The wave of armed and frantic revolution which inundated Europe in 1848 hardly touched England. So also, England is the hope of the wage-earner. And this is so because the Motherland is trying to make men, as well as money. A fish is just as cold as the water it swims in. The anarchy of Europe is the natural product of false economic and social standards. Secondly, England holds her place by commercial enterprise. There is an English beetle which swims in the brooks. It has two pair of eyes, one for the air and the other for the water. England developed eyes for the water as well as eyes for the land. She has now 200,000 ships afloat under her flag. England saw that control of the tropics dictates the history of trade and commerce. She saw that when Amsterdam controlled the keys of the Eastern Spice regions, she was the most prosperous city in the world. So England formed the East India Company. This made London the Queen City of the World's commerce. So that with both her sea and land eyes open, England sees the vital importance of keeping the trade of the 400,000,000 of China open to the whole world. England saw the commercial importance of her language. And she has made English the trade language of the world. Since 1801, the English language increased 225 per cent. The next increase is that of Germany, 100 per cent. Seven years ago the Emperor of China decreed that the English language be taught in all Chinese schools. It has been said that England could only live eight weeks without bringing food from other lands, and that therefore, England depends on other races. Such people forget that if

England depends on outside markets to sell to her, that those very markets are dependent on her buying. So that to close England to the outside markets would strike a death blow to the commerce of every Nation that has come to depend on her as a buyer. It still remains true that England's very existence depends on her remaining Mistress of the Seas. She must defend the 200,000 ships carrying her flag. If France lost her whole Navy she would still remain a first-class power. But England without her Navy would cease from the map in about six months. France, eight years ago, announced to the world that she would give up comparing her fleet to the fleet of England. So strong is our Navy that eleven years ago, Lord Randolph Churchill, amid ringing cheers in Parliament, said: "Let Germany clearly understand that her fleet will never be allowed to bombard New York while one British Warship floats on the Atlantic."

You can understand that an Englishman's faults are those belonging to a dominant race. He wants his shoes blacked. He wants his morning paper warmed before it is handed to him. He likes a thermometer for his coffee. He wants his beafsteak tender, and his wife submissive. He walks as if he owned creation and talks as if most men were his inferiors. He has the faults which belong to the ruler of 400,000,000 of the human race. Owning an Empire fifty-three times the size of France, fifty-two times the size of Germany, with three times the population of Russia, occupying one-fifth of the whole globe, embracing four continents, 10,000 islands, and 2,000 rivers, ruling over all these peoples, the Englishman has developed some faults, some grave faults.

Thirdly, England is great by her humanity in war. In our Grand River there is a spring strongly impregnated with magnesium limestone. Birds' eggs, flowers, mosses, are turned into stone by its petrifying process. So war usually petrifies and hardens nations. But the smoke was hardly from England's guns at Khartoum, before the General of that army was on his way to England to solicit a cool half million to build a college in which to educate his country's defeated enemy. England is the only country in the world which has ever treated a defeated enemy that way. So that her armies have become the forerunners of colleges, education, and elevation of the conquered peoples. This is no new feature in England's history. Take her treatment of the Danes. The Danes were princely pirates. They had no territory but the tossing floor of the restless Ocean, no dwelling but ships, and they harassed England. They resembled the Turks in courage and wherever they set foot, progress was arrested. They destroyed churches. burned houses, slaughtered men, outraged women, and tossed children on pikes. When England conquered them what did she do? Educated, Christianized, civilized, fused them into the Saxon, making a stronger England.

Fourthly, she is great in her development towards Imperial Unity. When the tide is out by the sea shore, you can see all along the shore small pools of water. Even small fish find a difficulty to get a living in these little pools. But when the great tide comes rolling in, these little pools are united into one great body so that a great whale could swim where a minnow had before panted for life. So the Englishman, himself a composite, felt that a united Empire afforded scope for the life of a great people. The building of this Empire began with Elizabeth. Her predecessor had lost the last foot of land on the continent of Europe. Hence Englishmen saw the necessity of expansion elsewhere. But our size is now our danger. Every sucker on a tree enfeebles its fruit-bearing power. An Empire is like a tree. The gardener does not allow the sap to go everywhere. He prunes the offshoots, and thus directs the sap into a few fruit-bearing branches. So instead of further expansion England is trying to unify. The reign of our late Queen has been noted for the unifying of the peoples of this earth. Prussia, Bavaria, and 20 small states formed the German Empire; scattered Italy, united over 30 years ago; the squabbling Cantons of Switzerland unified since '48. So the coming closer together into a closer unity of all her people is being silently worked by England.

Fifthly, she is great in the keeping up of her muscle, so that she may command, and at the same time allow liberty. England dare not take it easy. England dare not let her muscle down. A nation is a trustee to protect her citizens from foreign aggression and domestic wrong. The country which believes that it is delivered once and forever from conflict is on the verge of collapse. Greece, Rome, Egypt and China when they regarded pain and hardship as dreadful came to be feeble through luxurious ease. You remember that at the battle of Ping Yang between Japan and China, when the fight was at its height a heavy shower of rain descended on the two armies. Immediately, the easy-going Chinese put up their paper umbrellas to keep themselves dry. Doing so they became an easy target for the Japs, and lost the battle.

England is teaching a lesson in Empire never taught before, viz., how to combine power and liberty. Her problem has been how to allow the greatest degree of personal liberty consistent with public order and Imperial unty. The Roman Empire, one-fourth the size of the British, had no such problem to solve. With Rome the word Empire meant command, because Empire can only in the long run be maintained by strength. The Romans held to that truth. That truth is timeless and is true yet. England has resolved, as the Romans did, but with higher aims and a nobler spirit, to be supreme, whatever happens. The stronger England makes herself the more generous she may be to weaker nations. England is making an Empire where supreme command and reasonable liberty are combined. No Empire has ever achieved that.

As an example of the magnanimity of England take the one fact that at this moment. when Home Rule is so distasteful to the majority of Englishmen, she allows Ireland 40 members more than she is entitled to, and jogs along herself with 40 members less than she is entitled to. Only a strong nation could be thus generous. The present claim of Home Rule for Ireland is over-represented by 39 seats. Ireland with the most liberal allowance can claim but 65 seats. Unionist constituencies in Ireland average 8,030 electors while Home Rule constituencies average 6,480 electors.

The present moment is critical because of Germany. One of the most serious reasons to fear war is because of the belief in both countries that war must come. An Anglo-German war is regarded as probable in almost every Chancellerie in Europe. Not six weeks ago Prof. Harms lectured on "England and Germany" before the German Navy League at Kiel. The German Grand Admiral was present. The third son of the German Emperor was present. In that lecture Prof. Harms discussed the probability of England going to war with Germany before the German naval plans were completed. His conclusion, in his own words, was: "England's position in India, and in Egypt, and the exposed situation of Canada, compel her to practise extreme caution in regard to the concentration of her forces on any one spot." Thus you see that the official class in Germany are weighing war chances.

Then our Colonials are also weighing war possibilities. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was asked what he meant by the term "Emergency." His answer was, "an emergency means war anywhere in which Great Britain is engaged. If Britain is at war, Canada is at war, and is immediately liable to invasion." We all know that the colossal German navy is not built for a floating museum, for the fun of fireworks. To ignore the danger is only to lay a plaster on an open sore. The danger is all the greater because the German voter does not count. Only the men who administer the machine count. The German people do not direct German policy. Two months ago a book was written in Germany entitled, "Kranke England." This title means "Sick England." This book frankly teaches that England is practically doomed by her own degeneracy. The question with the German author is who will get control of England. He seems to regard Germany as being destined to administer the British Empire. Here are his own words: "The eternal law of the survival of the strongest governs us all. In obedience to this law the possibilities which the British Empire offers for the development of mankind will not be suffered to run to waste in hands too weak to use them. The strong man must and will come." He clearly believes that that strong man is Germany.

You will be pleased to know that though the Germans have a genius for facing facts. yet in this book they have not got all the facts. For instance, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration could not discover any evidence that the men of England already suffered from a state of deterioration. The German author of that book has actually taken statements made by Opposition newspapers and Opposition members of Parliament in the heat of debate as actual fact. What a God-smitten, blue-ruin region, any country can be made in the stump speeches of Oppositionists. But the most serious fact threatening England is the Navy law of Germany which requires her to have a fleet of such a strength that even for the mightiest naval power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardize its own supremacy. England's present duty is to work, not under the limelight of a pyrotechnical patriotism, but in the cool prosaic calm of profound peace. England must work out the command of the sea in two places: 1st. In the schools of the country; 2nd. In the dock-yards of the country and Colonies.

England must not depend on the good-will of any other nation. I was present in Germany during some weeks of the Boer war and I was in touch with University thought, and after that nightmare I say: "England must not depend on the good-will of any other nation." Nine days after that war broke out the German Emperor said: "Bitter is our need of a strong navy." You will be pleased to know that from that hour the men on British ships have become increasingly British. 1906—85 per cent. British. 1907—86 per cent. British. 1908—87 per cent British. When the struggle comes it will find English ships manned by sons of Ireland, Scotland, and England. The nonsense written by a well-meaning United States citizen about England being at the end of her resources in financing navy-expenditure is now well known to be nonsense. The fact is we are spending less, in proportion to our wealth, on our navy, than at any time in our history. England could double her present naval expenditure without going into the bankruptcy court. Ten years of our present rate of increase will ruin Germany if she tries to keep up. Those ten years will make war impossible by keeping our fleet progressively superior. So that the greatest factor making for peace is the present development of our Navy.

The most hopeful sign is the Colonial support of the Motherland in subscribing additional ships, thus adding to the ship-building resources of the Empire. And let us remember that the man who feels that he must win or perish can always call up more energies in a fight than a mere aggressor for the sake of gain or prestige. Command of the sea is not a matter of life or death to Germany. It is to England. And because it is to England it is to Canada, exposed without the fleet as the Professor at Kiel pointed out last month. The dream of national ease or peace while such empires as Russia, Turkey, Austria, and Germany are armed to carry out military ideals, is visionary and even criminal. England's very life depends on her muscle. She is heartily hated, deeply, incurably hated by Germany. Therefore encourage Great Britain to keep her muscle in her Navy, in her Army, and in her games. Canada will do her part. Our sentiment toward the Mother-land is voiced by the poet:

"O, Triune Kingdom of the brave,
  O, sea-girt island of the free.
O. Empire of the land and wave.
  Our hearts, our hands. are all for thee.
Stand Canadians, firmly stand,
  Round the flag of Fatherland."

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AND CONSEQUENT PROBLEMS.

An Address by the Rev. C. E. Manning, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 10, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

This is a subject of great significance to our Dominion, and one of the most important subjects amongst those that are now engaging the attention of the men who have most at heart the welfare of our country. A number of years ago our Dominion Government inaugurated a very systematic and comprehensive policy with the view to promoting immigration to this land. The result has been that, whereas in the year 1899 we had an immigration of 44,543, in 1907 there were 277,376 immigrants who came here. That was the banner year for immigration to Canada. The following year 148,700 came, and for the year 1909 there were 184,281 who came to make their home in this Dominion of ours. If we had as many people in Canada to-day as they have in Germany to the square acre we would have 1,000,000,000 people here now; and if we had as many as in France we would have 702,000,000; and if there were as many as in Italy to the square acre we would have 960,000,000.

I do not know how many of you believe that we will some time have as dense a population as they have in the older countries of the world, but I feel quite satisfied that so far as the habitable parts of our Dominion are concerned, we will have as dense a population as they have in the thickly populated countries. That will probably not be in your day nor in mine, but I believe that as sure as the sun shines the time is coming when we will have as large a population to the square acre, in the habitable parts of Canada, as any country in the world. I am quite sure that this immigration which has begun to our country in such large volume will continue until economic conditions on this side of the water are on a par with those of other countries, and I base this conclusion on two or three facts which, to me, are very convincing. In the first place let me say it is evident to me that we will have a great population if for no other reason than that it has always been a tendency of the race to follow the sources of wealth.

When Columbus discovered this continent and the fact became known in Europe, the people, in large numbers, began to prepare to come across to this new world. Some of them may have attempted this for the love of adventure, but you will agree with me that none of those early settlers ever thought of coming here because they believed they would have greater social advantages than in the home-land, and they certainly did not come here because they saw the opportunity of intellectual growth. They came that they might get wealth. When gold was discovered in the Klondike you know the rush there was to the north country. Young men and older men as well from all over the world started to seek their fortunes in the new land. They knew that they would have to face great hardships; but what did it matter if they had to sleep out at night with no cover but their blankets, with the thermometer fifty or sixty below zero? What did it matter when there was gold there? They were true to the instincts of their nature and the tendency of humanity to brave great hardships to get possession of gold.

When we consider the great natural resources of Canada I think we must conclude that all that is necessary in order to stimulate immigration to this land from many over-crowded countries whose people have not thought of coming here, is to give them information concerning this matter. Look at the great country we have here. This Dominion is larger than the United States, including Alaska. From the Atlantic to the Pacific is a distance of 3,500 miles, and from the border-line that separates the United States and Canada to the North Pole is 1,400 miles. We are not only great in extent; we have a great many natural facilities which will contribute to increasing wealth in this Dominion. Take for instance our inland waterways. If you start at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and go to the utmost limits of Lake Superior you will have covered 2,384 miles, and the prospect is that there will be water communication from Liverpool, indeed, from the Rocky Mountains almost round the world.

I was in Prince Albert a few weeks ago and was glad to hear the people up there talking about making some improvements to the Saskatchewan River which, when completed would render it possible to bring the products of the West to the Atlantic Ocean without trans-shipment, if a canal were made from Winnipeg to Lake Superior. We have in our geographical position a great asset. There are nations in Europe which have to sustain large standing armies lest the stronger powers should go to war with them and destroy them. We have nothing of that to fear here. We are protected on the east by the Atlantic Ocean and the British fleet; on the west by the Pacific Ocean and the British fleet; and I believe we shall all hail with joy the day when Canada shall have a fleet of her own. We are fortunate in lying close to a nation to the south with whom we have the most friendly relations, and palsied be the tongue that would stir up strife between us. These are only some of the things that will contribute to the making of a great nation in this land.

Let us consider for a little our great assets in the matter of our soil, our minerals, our fisheries, and our timber limits, and you can then see what inducements are given to the people in the Old World to come here. We are told that there are about 200,000,000 acres of the most fertile soil in the world in the Prairie Provinces as yet untouched by the plough. Only one-tenth of our mineral area has been explored. We have 100,000 square miles of coal-bearing lands. More than half the nickel output of the world comes from Sudbury. We have iron mines of great wealth, and gold mines, and lead mines, and silver mines, and copper mines, rich almost beyond the dreams of avarice. We have 1,400,000 square miles of timber lands. Our pay-roll for the timber industry is $125,000,000 a year. We have fisheries that are the richest in the world, employing 100,000 men who take yearly about $30,000,000 worth of fish from the sea. All they need to know in the overcrowded countries of the world is the great resources of Canada to swell the volume of immigration to our country to at least a million of souls a year.

There is another reason why I believe we are going to have a great population. I am satisfied that in the very nature of things, when people live in lands that are too crowded and there are countries not overcrowded, that they should come to the less thickly settled communities. I do not know how many of you may be disposed to restrict immigration beyond the limits that our Government has attempted to do, but I am persuaded that our relation to the British Empire makes it impracticable for us to absolutely exclude the inhabitants of any country. I know what agitation has taken place in some parts of the Dominion in connection with this matter, and I know how strongly they have felt in British Columbia regarding Oriental immigration, but I am as satisfied as I can be that it is in the nature of things, that even the Orientals should come to Canada in ever-increasing numbers to say nothing of the immigration from Continental Europe.

I am very proud of the fact that I am an Anglo-Saxon and I am sure that we who are of Anglo-Saxon blood, when we consider the influence that the Auglo-Saxon race has among the nations of the world are disposed to believe that if the Israelites were the chosen people of God in olden times, we have as much reason to feel that we are the chosen people of God in this twentieth century. But, let me remind you that there are other people in the world besides Anglo-Saxons and other people in the world who have rights as well as we, and there are other races who are going to compel us to respect their rights. I sometimes have asked myself the question why it was that God put those great prairies out in the West which the seven millions of Anglo-Saxons who control the destinies of the Dominion are unable to cultivate.

Why have we such untold wealth beneath the soil and such timber limits and fisheries? I am as confident as I can be that they were not created to accommodate exclusively the seven millions of people who are in Canada at the present time. Some months ago I heard a gentleman who had lived for many years in India, give an address on conditions in that country. In that address he told us that it was estimated that there were 300,000,000 of people in India and that there were 200,000,000 who never knew what it was not to be hungry. You have read of the famines in that land, and you know well that there are thousands of people walking the streets of London who never know what it is to have enough to eat. The same condition exists in Continental Europe.

Is Providence going to allow this condition to go on generation after generation just to let seven millions of Anglo-Saxons have exclusive control of a country like this? Does it not appear clear to you that the Almighty had a purpose that reaches beyond this generation in creating the great resources of Canada? And, let me ask you if you were God would you allow this starvation to go on in other countries simply to accommodate the Anglo-Saxons in Canada? It seems to me that the people are going to come in ever-increasing numbers from Europe and in larger numbers than we may like. There was a time when this country was inhabited only by the North American Indians, and at that stage the Indians took the stand, "Canada for the Indians." I suppose a good many of us are disposed to cry, "Canada for the Canadians." There is not half as much patriotism in that cry as we are inclined to believe. The Indians started out with tomahawk and scalping knife to exterminate every white man who came to these shores. They succeeded in exterminating family after family, but our fathers continued to come and drove the Indians back. They exposed themselves to the charge that they had robbed the Indian of his land. As a descendant of one of the early settlers of this country, I rise to refute that charge. This land never belonged to the Indians. It belonged to God and He has not surrendered the title.

The only part of the world's surface to which any race has an inalienable right is that part which they can make use of.

The Indians could not make use of this country and we had as much right to it as they, and that part which we cannot make use of other people are going to come and settle upon and develop. In the Providence of God I believe they are going to come. I suppose that you are all aware of the fact that China is establishing public schools all over her Empire; that to-day she is teaching military drill to the boys in her schools. This suggests to us that twenty years from now China will be in a position to put in the field the largest army the world has ever seen. She is applying scientific methods to the development of her natural resources, and in the not distant future she will be so rich that she will have much money to spare and will be able to build the largest navy that has ever floated upon the sea. You know what Japan has done and how her ambition has been excited and how she has excited the ambition of the other Oriental nations. You are aware of the agitation going on in India to throw off British rule.

Suppose India and Japan and China, remembering the injustices, real or supposed, from which they have suffered from Western nations in the days gone by, and the spirit of revenge should possess them; suppose in the meantime we should not treat these nations properly, and so add fuel to the spirit of revenge; is it not evident that they could organize the greatest armies ever known and put upon the seas the greatest fleet that ever sailed, and come across the Pacific, and some morning before breakfast, land upon our Western shore and sweep over our country by the millions and make us hewers of wood and drawers of water to them. I am inclined to think that history would only need to repeat itself in some respects at least, to bring about such a result. Let me repeat what I said a while ago, that we are going to have an ever-increasing immigration from Europe and from the Orient also. I am satisfied that the interests of this country demand that we assume a right attitude toward the people of every race, and that we do our very best when they come to Canada to make them the type of citizens that we want Canadians to be.

I cannot but regard with a good deal of apprehension the coming of such vast multitudes to our country as are now reaching Canada. We have an immigration which is far in excess of that which any other nation has had in proportion to its population. The largest immigration to the United States in any one year during the eighty years preceding the taking of the race census did not exceed 1½ per cent. of the population of that country; the average annual immigration for any decade of that eighty years did not exceed 1 per cent. of their population. Will it surprise you to know that in 1907 the immigration to Canada was 5.16 per cent. of our population, taking the last census as a basis. That suggests to us that through immigration we have problems of greater significance and magnitude developing in our midst than they ever had in the United States. It seems to me that if we are going to meet the situation we must pay attention to the needs of these foreigners. We must especially give attention to our cities. When our last census was taken the country population was 73 per cent. of the whole population of this Dominion. But in the decade preceding the taking of the last census the country population increased 1½ per cent., while our city and town population increased 21½ per cent. I am inclined to think that the time is coming when our city population will be much larger in many of our Provinces than the country population in those Provinces. A very significant thing about this flocking to the city is this: that the elements that are going to compose the larger part of our city population in the years to come will not be of Canadian stock but European and Oriental foreigners.

A number of years ago 54 per cent. of the adult male population of New York city was foreign by birth. There were 18 cities in the Union, many years ago, where the male foreigners of voting age were 2½ times as numerous as the native-born Americans; 23 other cities in the United States where the male foreigners of voting age were as numerous as the native-born Americans. That suggests to us simply this: that the foreigners in the cities of the United States do more than hold the balance of power. They can, if they will, be the real governors of those cities. To-day we are making laws for Europeans and other foreigners. In the not very distant future they will begin to make laws for us. This is inevitable, and it seems to me that if we are going to save our country we must save our cities, and we must inspire these foreigners with our ideals in order to make of them the type of Canadian citizens we want them to be.

As I look out upon the future of our country I am very glad I was not born one hundred years ago. I am almost sorry that I am not a child now that I might enter into the enjoyment of the things that I see in the distant future, but that cannot be a fact during my lifetime. It occurs to me, however, that there is one thing far more desirable than to live one hundred years hence. It is to have some part in laying the foundations of national greatness in this Dominion of ours. The opportunity that comes to us to-day ought to inspire the heart and excite the ambition of every loyal Canadian, for never in the history of our land has there been a time when it was possible for us to do so much to make our country what, in the Providence of God, I believe it is destined to become. I am sure we would like that everybody who comes to Canada should receive an education, and that the children of all foreigners should be taught at least the elements of a good English education, but I am satisfied that what John Morley said was true: "The important thing, as we all know, is not the exact fraction of the human race that will speak English. The important thing is that those who speak English, whether in old lands, or new, shall strive in lofty, generous, and never-ceasing emulation with peoples of other tongues and stock for the political, social, and intellectual primacy among mankind." And again he says, "It is moral impulses that matter. When they are safe all is safe." Matthew Arnold said, "It is moral ideas that at bottom decide the standing or falling of states or nations."

Whatever we may have of population, or of wealth, Canada will never be a great country unless we have men that stand four-square for all that is right and turn their faces resolutely against all that is wrong. For if Canada is to be a great nation the real secret of her greatness will be her moral qualities. Two things it seems to me we must insist on in this Dominion—Education for every child, and the gospel of our Lord and Saviour for every citizen. I am sure that whatever our theological views may be we cannot fail to recognize not only the influence that the public school will play in our civilization, but the influence of the Church, the Church of Jesus Christ, by whatever name it may be known. I see that my time is up. I thank you for this opportunity of addressing you, and I trust that we will all unite to make of this country a mighty nation, though with different elements, yet with every element of our population striving together; not to make this Dominion characteristic of the different world races, but uniting all of us together to develop here a nation of Canadians possessing the best elements of all the nations; and making Canada in the future a great power in the affairs of the world.

SOME REMARKS ON THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

An Address by the Hon. W. R. Riddell, of the High Court of Justice, Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 17, 1910.

It has happened that I have within the last few years had occasion to attend meetings of Bar Associations in the United States, and to visit State and Federal Courts. Nothing else upon these occasions has so attracted my attention and excited my wonder as the relative amount of discussion of constitutional questions. I do not think I exaggerate when I estimate the time occupied in such discussions at one-fourth to one-half of the whole time of Associations and Courts. In Canada, on the contrary, perhaps not one per cent. of the time of such bodies is thus taken up. This is an exceedingly curious or, rather, interesting, point of difference between two peoples largely of the same language, same origin, similar institutions and customs, and actuated by the same motives and aspirations. And it may not be entirely without advantage briefly to consider this difference.

It all rests on the fundamental fact that Canada has in substance the same constitution as the United Kingdom. The B. N. A. Act of 1867 begins with the Preamble that: "Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into One Dominion under the Crown of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." This desire was granted. Now the United Kingdom has in reality no Constitution at all in the sense in which the word is used in the United States. In Britain this or that is said to be "constitutional" or "unconstitutional" as it is conceived to conform or not to conform to the general principles, more or

THE HON. WILLIAM R. RIDDELL.
Judge of the High Court of Ontario.

less vague, upon which it is thought the Empire is governed. What these principles are is often a matter of opinion—they are changing from generation to generation and have nowhere an authoritative presentation.

In the United States the fathers of the Union collected what they believed to be the true principles upon which government should be carried on—most of these they got from the Mother Country. These principles were reduced to writing and so became fixed. No better illustration can be found of the truth of the saying, "The letter killeth and the spirit giveth life" than the course since that time of the Constitutions of the two nations. In the Old Land the Constitution is changing from time to time to meet the advance of the people and change of views. In the United States everything is referred to the letter of the written document framed a century and more ago. The United Kingdom has the most profound confidence in the people, the United States the most profound suspicion; in the former the people must have their way, in the latter they can have their way only so far as they are allowed by the terms of a document framed by the hand of a dead and gone generation. The nation which is called feudal and aristocratic is wholly free to do as the people say; that which is called democratic is hemmed in on every hand by barriers as of iron—and these not of their own making. The President of the United States has even now practically all the powers of the British King of the time of George the Third, while the power of the King has been continually changing—and diminishing. And so in our government—as I have already said, we have, speaking generally, the same Constitution as the Mother Country.

There is, of course, the division of the objects of legislation between Dominion and Province—but given that the object of legislation is within the subjects asigned to Dominion or Province, as the case may be, there is no question of the extent of the power of Parliament or Legislature respectively. Now this, it seems to me, is the cardinal difference between the two countries—in the United States, Congress may legislate upon a subject admittedly within its jurisdiction, but if the legislation clashes in any way with the provisions of the Constitution, it is void. And not only if it be contrary to an express provision of the Constitution, but also if it be opposed to what the Courts may have read into the Constitution. By section 10, Article 1, of the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that "No State shall.....pass any.........law impairing the obligation of Contracts." (There is nothing, however, to prevent the United States in Congress passing such laws).

The most extraordinary consequences have followed from this provision. For example, in 1769, the King, George III, granted to the trustees of Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, a charter of incorporation as a private charitable institution. After the Revolution—in 1816—the Legislature of the State of New Hampshire passed an Act taking away from the trustees the government of this College and vesting it in the executive of the State—in other words changing the College from a private to a State Institution. The Act, while continuing the trustees as a corporation as trustees of Dartmouth University, purported to form a new body called a Board of Overseers of whom the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont, were *ex-officio* members—and to this Board of Overseers was given the power of confirming or vetoing the acts of the trustees relating to the appointment and removal of president, professors and permanent officers, the determination of their salaries, the establishment of professorships, the erection of new buildings, etc.

The Legislature later on in the same year passed another Act making it an offence for anyone to act as president, professor, etc., except in conformity with the Act just named. One Woodward had been Secretary-Treasurer of the Corporation before the passing of the Acts, but he apparently took sides with the legislation because he was removed by the trustees of Dartmouth College before the last Act, and he was re-appointed by the trustees of Dartmouth University organized under the new Acts. The old Board brought an action against him for taking possession of the books of their records. It will be seen that the simple question was: Had the new Corporation of Trustees of Dartmouth University any power? And that depended upon whether the Acts of the Legislature were valid. The Supreme Court of New Hampshire decided that the Legislature had not exceeded its authority and so dismissed the action; and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case for the old Board was argued by the celebrated Daniel Webster and the Supreme Court decided that the charter was a contract. The Chief Justice, the well-known John Marshall, says: "It can require no argument to prove that the circumstances of this case constitute a contract." Then the Court proceeded to hold that this charter was a contract of the kind protected by the Constitution, and that the Legislature had no right to change it in any way.

In Canada the Legislature without any hesitation entirely changed the constitution of King's College, the predecessor of the University of Toronto—and no one imagined that the legislation was vulnerable in any point. If to-morrow the Legislature should change the status of Queen's University there can be no doubt that it has the power to do so—if even the change were to bring about a relation of that University to the Methodist Church identical with that it now bears to the Presbyterian Church, the validity of the legislation would not be questionable. So in England, the position of the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge has been seriously modified by Parliament and no one in or out of Parliament questions the power of Parliament to make even more radical changes.

Again, if any enterprise receive a charter that charter can be, either in the Old Country or in Canada, modified or abrogated at the will of the law-making body and without the consent of the corporation or any one else. In the United States if any State should grant any exclusive privileges, this grant is looked upon as a contract and cannot be recalled. For example, if a State were to grant to a named individual or corporation the sole right for a fixed term to establish a slaughter house in a certain city—and it has been held that a Legislature may validly give such a right—the monopoly would be irremediable and the people helpless. With us, the law-making body can take away what it can validly give.

If a State make an arrangement with any person or corporation that it will not tax property or rights or franchises, or will tax at only a fixed rate agreed upon, this too, if for consideration, is a contract: and the Legislature cannot take up its lost sovereignty and exercise the power of taxation at will. Our Legislature cannot contract itself out of any of its powers given by the B. N. A. Act. No Act of the Legislature is so binding that it cannot be repealed by the Legislature or its successor. In the case of a contract made by a State, some at least of the States manage to get out of any liability. For example, when I was in Missouri last fall at a meeting of the Bar Association of that State, I heard a long discussion as to whether the State had broken the contract with a firm of publishers in another State. I confess it seemed to me that the State had been in the wrong, and I asked why the matter was not tried in the Courts. To my astonishment I was told that the State being the Sovereign could not be sued: that there was no such proceeding as exists in all British countries for testing the meaning of a contract with the Government—the publishers had to go without redress.

A writer in the American *Law Review* quotes me as saying: "Of the matters of difference between your country and mine, the third is a matter which I can't quite get through my mind and reconcile with my sense of justice. I heard yesterday, and I understand it is the law, that no man has a right of action against the sovereign state. In my country, in our jurisprudence, if a person conceives himself to be wronged by the Sovereign, all he has to do is to state his facts by way of petition to the Attorney-General and by leave of the Attorney-General the matter of that petition is brought in Court and threshed out in Court the same as an ordinary civil action. No Court can compel the Sovereign to do what he does not want to do. The jurisdiction of the Court over the Sovereign is only advisory —it says what is just and right and proper; but the theory of our law is, and I suppose it should be the theory of all law, that the Sovereign does not intend to do wrong, and, if he has unintentionally done wrong, then, being informed of the wrong by properly constituted authority, the Sovereign will right the wrong. In our jurisprudence we say the King, His Majesty, does not intend to do wrong. His subjects, or mere denizens, for instance one of you, might have a contract with His Majesty in Canada. He wouldn't intend to do you any wrong. He might believe, his advisers might believe, your contract meant one thing, you might say, 'No, I intended it to mean another, let the Court determine what that actually means,' and His Majesty, truly advised, says, 'If I am wrong, of course I will do you justice.'"

A provision in the same part of the United States Constitution is that no person is to be deprived of property without due process of law. No matter in what devious ways a person may have become possessed of property, and no matter to what amount, he cannot be deprived of any part of it without due process of law: and a law cannot be framed to meet the case because *ex-post facto* legislation is forbidden. For example, if a railway company have issued its bonds bearing a high rate of interest, legislation cannot give to the company the power to replace these with debentures at a lower rate against the will of a *bona fide* holder. The Parliament of the Dominion did pass such legislation and no one in Canada dreamt of questioning its validity, but the Courts of the United States, apparently looking upon Legislatures with us as of the same powers as their own, held that the statute was void. In a very well-known case in Ontario, it was contended that a company had acquired vested rights to a certain valuable mine, which was afterwards declared by the Legislature to belong to another company. The Courts in

Ontario without any dissent or difference of opinion considered that even if the first-named Company owned the disputed property, the Legislature had the power to take the same away.

So the right to bring an action at law is a right which cannot be taken away from anyone in the United States —for example, Congress tried by statute in 1863 to provide that any order of the President made during the Rebellion should be a defence in all Courts against any action for arrest or imprisonment, etc., under it. But the Courts promptly held that Congress had no power to deprive citizens of all redress for illegal arrests and imprisonments. In Canada we have had statutes of indemnity, e.g., in 1838, after the Rebellion an Act was passed (I Vic. c. 12) which recited that before and during the "Insurrection" it became necessary for Justices of the Peace, Officers of the Militia and others in authority in the Province, and also for loyal subjects, to apprehend persons charged or suspected of joining in the insurrection. The Act then provided that all proceedings brought for such acts should be void and that persons who had committed them indemnified—all such proceedings were to be stayed and if the plaintiffs went on they should be liable for double costs. No one had the slightest idea that this Act was not perfectly valid.

In Ireland a similar Act was passed after the Rebellion of 1798; and also in Cape Colony in 1836, 1847 and 1853; in Ceylon in 1848; in St. Vincent in 1862; in New Zealand in 1865 and 1867. And in Jamaica, after the Rebellion of 1865, the Legislature passed an Act of indemnity which had the effect of preventing the prosecution of actions against Governor Eyre. In Ontario we have had a recent instance of the exercise of such a power by the Legislature. In the Hydro-Electric matter, the Legislature has said actions are not to be taken, or if taken are not to be proceeded with. The Courts so far have upheld the power so exercised. A law of New York State authorized anyone to take any animal trespassing on his lands and have it sold by a Justice of the Peace, who would first retain his own fees, then pay the person trespassed upon for the keep of the animal if he should claim it within one year. This was held unconstitutional. Our pound-keepers are exercising this power of sale every day under the provisions of a chapter in our Revised Statutes.

By the Constitution of the United States and the several States, the term of office of President and Governor is fixed. Short of impeachment, there is no way of getting rid of a Chief Executive, no matter how much he may run adverse to the desires and opinions of the people—the term of representatives and Senators is fixed and no power exists to shorten this a day. In our system, in practice, a new election can be called at any time thought advisable by a Ministry which can command a majority in the House and often by one that cannot—a Parliament may extend its own life indefinitely. The Prime Minister of Canada, who (and not the Governor-General) corresponds in Canada with the President in the United States, cannot remain in power a day without the support of the majority of the people's representatives—compare with his position that of President Johnson, who held his post for years while bitterly distrusted and disliked by a majority of the citizens of the United States.

It seems to me that the cardinal difference between our country and that to the south is well illustrated by the course of legislation. In the United States the Executive Officers do not sit in Congress—they are not responsible for the legislation at all. For example, President Taft made his campaign largely upon a promise that the tariff should be revised. He could not introduce a bill himself—that must be done by a member of Congress; no direct responsibility rested upon the President for the bill introduced; all he could do was to intimate openly or secretly to Congressmen what his wishes were; he could not defend any provision or assail any amendment proposed. And the President has or has not "made good" according as to how far he has been able by the exercise of influence or argument or persuasion in having his promises implemented. But nobody holds him responsible for the tariff—it is not "Taft's Bill" but it is "Aldrich's Bill," like the former "Dingley Bill," "Wilson Bill," and "McKinley Bill." And whether he has pleased his party or the nation he sits till the end of his term as he would have done had his party been defeated in House and Senate and utterly routed before the electorate. No responsible officer is responsible for the legislation.

Now, in Canada, if an election is fought on any issue the required legislation is introduced by a responsible Ministry—if they can command a majority of the people's representatives it passes into law after having been scrutinized by the Senate. If the responsible Ministry cannot command a majority of the House, a new Prime Minister is sent for and a new Ministry formed, and these take the responsibility for legislation. If the people do not like it, the members soon find that out—and there is, or need be, no delay in public opinion making itself felt. No Prime Minister has any fixed term of office; and he cannot sit serene in the consciousness that he cannot be removed. A word or two as to the position of the Courts. I think the people of the United States were the first to put themselves absolutely under their Courts. It is for the Courts to declare the meaning of the Constitution, to determine the constitutionality or otherwise of an enactment: the Legislature cannot set aside the construction of the law already applied by the Courts, nor compel the Courts to adopt in future a particular construction of a statute allowed to remain in force—nor can the Legislature, for example, compel the Courts to grant a new trial or extend time for appealing to a party who had allowed the time prescribed by the general law to expire.

With us, the Legislature is supreme in all such matters. The Courts are not instituted by any Constitution—they were all instituted by the Legislature; all their powers came from the Legislature and the same hand which gave can take away. As was said in one case:—"If the Legislature has in fact said that the true boundary between two adjoining lots is to be determined by three farmers or by a land surveyor, it is my duty loyally to obey the order of the Legislature and stay my hand; the Legislature has the legal power—and that is all I may concern myself about to say that His Majesty's Court shall not determine the property rights of His Majesty's subjects in respect of the extent of their land." It will at once be observed that this is clearly allied to the principle we have already been examining as to the sacredness of private rights—but it goes further. The substance is that the dead and gone generation are, in the United States, saying to the present and living: "Thus far shalt thou go and no further"—a prohibition to which I do not believe any British people would submit for one minute.

In this, as in everything else in our Constitution, the people are the ultimate Court of Appeal and they hold the Ministry of the day responsible for all the Acts of Parliament or Legislature. So in the exercise of the powers of legislation which I have referred to, if the Parliament or Legislature should take away a charter once granted, the people might disapprove and punish the responsible Ministry by refusing them a majority; if the people thought the Courts should not be closed to litigants, they could say so; and, generally, all the Acts of the legislating bodies come or should come for judgment from time to time by the citizens of Canada and it is for them to say what is to be allowed and what forbidden.

In the other country, it is not the people who can allow or disallow—the people are not trusted—they cannot say to a monopolist, "You shall not retain your ill-gotten wealth;" they cannot say to one litigating simply to embarrass the construction or operation of a great public work. "You shall not litigate." A few months ago I heard the ex-Chief Justice of a very important State say publicly that the great problem of the day in the United States was the prevention of the concentration of wealth in a few hands and he spoke of the constitutional difficulty in the way. I told him that we had no constitutional limitations in the way of our prevention, and if necessary confiscation, of predatory wealth—and he seemed astounded. All this power possessed by our legislating bodies is old—there is nothing new about it. It is possessed by our kinsmen across the sea; by our kinsmen in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and elsewhere and thus far at least there seems no symptom of any move to limit or change it.

Parliament and the Legislative Assemblies could not themselves validly restrict their power—if any self denying ordinance should be passed to-day it might be rescinded and repealed to-morrow by the same body which enacted it, or next year, or next century by a successor. The only way in which these powers can be validly limited is by an Act of the Imperial Legislature: and that I cannot think will ever be applied for or passed *in invitum.* It is sometimes said by those who should know better that there was no intention to give such great powers to the Province or Dominion, and that the B. N. A. Act was passed as it were in inadvertence. Nothing can be further from the truth. Elsewhere I have said and I repeat: "It is sometimes said that the British Parliament could not, in passing the British North America Act, have intended to confer on a local Legislature such unlimited powers. The best way of determining what a Parliament intends is to find out the meaning of what it says. The meaning of the language is perfectly plain and does not admit of question. Those who assert that the British North America Act does not express the real meaning and intent of Parliament, it seems to me, forget that practically all the power Ontario has, she had from the time of the Act of 1791, 31 Geo. III., ch. 31. It was not just the other day that our Province 'came of age'—she is over 100 years old. All the powers we have been considering were undoubtedly hers since 1791. And I much mistake the temper of my countrymen if they in 1867 would have been or would now be content to accept any legislation which cut down in any wise their power of governing themselves. All these powers are possessed in fact by our kinsmen across the seas, and for myself

I can see no reason why our rights in Ontario in local matters should be any less than the rights of those in the British Isles—why Britons on this side of the Atlantic should any less govern themselves than those on the other. Nor were those who drew up the B. N. A. Act ignorant men. The Colonial statesmen were men of great ability, who knew what they wanted, and knew how to put in plain language what they did want—they had the assistance of the ablest lawyers in England—they were experienced legislators themselves—and it is idle to speak of the result of their labours as being other than what was intended."

I suppose that it is not to be expected of me, a Canadian and a British Judge, that I should be able to form a wholly unbiassed opinion as to the relative value of the two Constitutions—but at all events with such study as I have been able to give to the subject, and such intellect as I am blest with, I am wholly sure that ours offers the best hope for the future, for the advantage of the commonalty, both in wealth and in intelligence, and for the realization of the prophetic apothegm that "All men are born free and equal."

SCOTLAND'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EMPIRE.

An Address by the Rev. Dr. A. Logan Geggie, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 24, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

When I was asked some weeks ago to take part in this meeting the subject was given to me by your own representative. Looking at the Empire from the point of view of a Trinity of Nations, which to a very large extent make up the Empire, I understood you were to have addresses on the Contributions of England, Scotland and Ireland to the Empire; and, I suppose that the gentlemen who have the procuring of speakers for your luncheons in hand, thought of myself as perhaps being as true a type of Scotchman, of the ministerial profession at least, as could be found in Toronto—and one who is not particularly ashamed of his connection with that country. Of course, we all recognize that the Union Jack, the flag of the Empire of which we form a part, in the beginning was made up of three constituent elements; although I would like to introduce another into it, that of Wales. Now every man should contribute something to his day and generation; he should be a man of value, virility, vitality, and virtue, in the land in which he dwells.

It was given to Mr. Hincks the other day to speak on the contributions England had made to the Empire. You will allow me a few preliminary words concerning what Scotland has contributed to the Empire. I do not belong to the class of Scotchmen who find fault with time-honoured phrases such as "The English Army," and "The English Navy," nor do I belong to that class of Canadians who object to the people to the south of us calling themselves "Americans" as they were on the ground before us. I do not question the use of these terms, remembering that I use as best I can the English language. Remembering, however, the place of my country in the make-up of the Empire I do not question for one moment the pretentions of the people to the south of us, or object to the English speaking of the "English Army" and the "English Navy," any more than I object to them calling their bank "The Bank of England." But we people in Scotland are always trying to remind them that in the first place we gave them a King, and in the second place, the Unity of the Empire, and furthermore, we laid the foundation of the British Empire. If any man present to-day wishes to dispute my statement, after he has given the matter consideration in the light in which I view it, he will admit I have spoken an absolute truism. We do not need to care though it be called the "English Army" and the "English Navy," and the "English Nation," inasmuch as the foundation of the Empire was laid upon Scotland, and the Union Jack has the blue Banner of St. Andrew as a back-ground; although the foundations of such things are not seen by any except intelligent observers.

Each nation has contributed something to the Empire, and in considering what Scotland has contributed I am not going to discuss anything pertaining to the theological world—for I might be inclined to say something which would not be particularly appreciated by those of the Episcopalian persuasion here to-day. I might remind them of the fact that the two Archbishops of England are Scochmen. Nor am I going to enter into the discussion of things pertaining to the political or commercial world, other than to say that that great financial institution, the Bank of England, was founded by a Scotchman. And so I might wander on through the different phases of activity in the British Empire, and into the different departments of life, but I do not purpose touching on these; rather, I wish to speak to you on three or four characteristics of the Scotch together with their working out in the lives of men.

I wish first to give you an illustration of the difference between an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotchman. You go up to an Englishman and say, "John! what would you take to sit on the spire of St. James' Cathedral all night?" and as quick as wink he will reply: —"I'll take five pounds;" you say to a Scotchman, "Sandy! what would you take and sit on the spire of St. James' Cathedral all night?" and Sandy will say in a slow, cautious way, "What'll ye gie me?" You say to an Irishman, "Pat! what will you take and sit on the spire of St. James' Cathedral all night?" and he looks at you in a kind of quizzical way and says:— "Shure and be jabbers I'll take a bad cold." The Englishman if he is not straightforward, blunt and honest has fallen from his race. The Irishman—leaving the Scotchman alone for the time being—sees things from his own viewpoint. The Scotchman is quiet and cautions. He has no objection to taking the five pounds, but would rather have fifty for the job.

One of the qualities of the Scotch that has done much in the building up of the British Empire is his caution; which may arise from different causes. Perhaps from the suspicious nature which he possesses. He does not feel sure and will not show his hand until he is sure of his man. Or from the cupidity of the man. Whatever the cause, it is here, a certain kind of reserve of manner and bearing. This he may have had accentuated from his dealings with the people of England to the south of him. Another quality of the Scotchman is his love of being right—and, his desire to keep the other fellow right also. Now I know you may put that down to their stubborn natures. You remember the Scotchman's prayer: "Oh, Lord, may we be aye richt, for Ye ken, whether we be richt or wrang, we be awfu' stubborn."

Yet after all, call it what you please, his one dominant characteristic, and that which I respect, is his desire to know things from the bottom up, from north to south, from east to west, and know them through and through; and I believe we can trace much of the greatness of the British Empire back to this source, and that other characteristic of the Scotch race, the desire to be right. Of course, you know how this works out in controversy—

especially theological controversy for none can split hairs quite as skilfully as the Scotch on theological questions. However, they also know how to heal their differences, for whatever we have to say of their differences, it was Scotland that set the pace for the union of the Churches —now I am not thinking of the Episcopalian brethren for the moment, I am keeping them absolutely out of my mind. Now this is the kind of people the Scotch are—staunch of heart, thorough-going, and firm for what they consider right. It leads me to my next point, the high intelligence of the Scotch.

Some person has said that the Scotch people cultivated literature on oatmeal. There have been a great many theological controversies in Scotland, which goes to prove the fact that the Scotch intelligence is very high, for no one can engage in theological controversies without having a high degree of intelligence. It also indicates that they have a vision not generally possessed by people. Let a man get interested in religion and I tell you there is nothing that will so take possession of his intellectual powers, nothing that will so strengthen his vision of the things that are really worth while. And if there is anything true of the race I represent it is that they have been interested in theology, for the Scotch have been brought up on oatmeal and the Shorter Catechism! This leads me to another point, the love of the Scotch race for liberty and freedom.

The spirit of independence is ever found abounding in the heart of a Scotchman wherever you find him, I care not whether in the home-country or in the colonies; and I do not hark back to the days of Wallace, King Robert of Bruce, the days of the Covenanters, or to the movement which culminated in the Free Church of Scotland; I am thinking of the situation prevailing in my native land to-day. I would like to take you with me in imagination to the City of Edinburgh and walk through the streets with me between the hours of 8 and 10 in the forenoon. You will see business men on the cars and on the streets all intently reading a newspaper. What is it? The *Morning Scotsman*. Edinburgh, with half a million of a population, has only one morning paper, while Toronto has half a dozen. As you look into that paper you will find it is a Conservative or Unionist paper, although Edinburgh is Liberal to the heart. Some years ago Lord Rosebery and a wealthy brewer, named McEwan, put their heads and pockets together and started the *Morning Leader* and determined they would put their paper on the breakfast tables of the business men of Edinburgh; but notwithstanding their planning and the wealth of these men, their paper died a natural death while the *Morning Scotsman,* in spite of the fact that it has become a Conservative Daily, still flourishes. Why? The people of Edinburgh valued the wealth and strength of the grey matter in the brain of Cooper, the Editor of the *Scotsman,* but more than that, they valued the wealth and strength of the grey matter in their own brains.

Although I am a Canadian of a little over 22 years, with four little, or big, children, born here, and love the land I live in, yet, in my humble judgment I want to say there is no people so intellectually and politically emancipated on the face of the globe as the men of Great Britain are, and wherever I go I try to preach this, for it seems to me at least, that this is one of the finest qualities possessed by the men of the Empire of which we form a part. I want to say this, in passing, that on account of the superior educational advantages of the Scotch people, when they come out to Canada they do not generally come as hewers of wood and drawetrs of water to the Canadian people, but, they bring with them into our country, and impart to the life of the country that native shrewdness and that intellectual vision God has given them, and they do not remain long at the bottom of the ladder. They soon reach the top.

I might state another thing before I am through, that is, their thrift. And you who are not Scotch will say "Now you've got home." There is a story told of a Scotch miser who was thinking about death, and after securing a safe place for his money he went to John the Beadle and said to him: "John, where are you going to put me when I am dead and gone?" John led him to a vault, opened the door, and they went inside. The Scotch miser inspected the sides and walls very closely and said: "Do you know, John, I was thinking that's a very thick, strong roof, won't the Archangel have a hard job to get me out on the Resurrection day?" John looked at him and said "Aye! but the bottom may fall out." Another instance of the thrift of the Scotch is illustrated in the following story, and with this I will take my seat. An eccentric old gentleman before he died agreed to divide his wealth between an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotchman, with the understanding that each of them was to place ten pounds in the hands of the dead man when he was in his coffin. The Englishman put his ten pounds in the hand of the corpse, the Irishman did the same—and there it lay, twenty pounds of good English money—when along came the Scotchman with a cheque for thirty pounds drawn by himself which he placed in the dead man's hand and took out the change and walked away.

In moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Geggie, Dr. Sweeny Bishop of Toronto, said: I do not know why I should be asked to move a vote of thanks to this Scotchman unless it be that he is a direct descendant of an Irishman who was exiled from Ireland, and as such, of course, I am glad to encourage the sense of humour we have diccovered in the Scotchman to-day. I think there is only one point the speaker has not touched in this humourous speach, which I think he should have mentioned, that is, the contribution Scotchmen have made to the "Modesty" of the world. Now we are equal. There is one thing I wish to say, that is, if either Peary or Cook reach the North Pole they will certainly find a Scotchman there. I have much pleasure, Mr. President, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Geggie for this interesting, humourous and instructive address. I did not have the pleasure of hearing Mr. Hincks upon the last occasion, but excellent as his address no doubt was, I think the address we have had to-day is quite an a par with anything the Club has heard for a long time. In seconding the vote of thanks the Rev. Dr. Griffith-Thomas of Wales said: "I did not know I was to do anything but take lunch at this Club this morning. If a man gets credit for having something to say and says it he is fortunate; if he has nothing to say and says it, he is entitled to still greater credit. I felt very much concerned over the telling of that last story as I was going to tell it myself. I only heard it when coming over on the *Mauretania* last week, but the way I heard it was, that it was the Englishman who made the cheque!

WITH SHACKLETON TO THE ANTARCTIC.

Address by Dr. W. A. R. Michell, of Toronto, March 31, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Before my appointment to the position of Surgeon of S. S. *Nimrod* I had been Medical Officer on one of the steamers plying between Liverpool and West African Ports: so I thought it would be a welcome change to enjoy the bracing climate of the South Pacific Seas after the enervating heat of the West Coast of Africa—and I was not disappointed. I joined the Expedition about the end of June, 1907, and commenced duties about the middle of July. There was little to do at first except to watch the interesting process of preparing a ship for two years of work amid Polar ice and stormy ocean. The *Nimrod* was at that time not looking her best. She was an old weather-beaten, oil-soaked Dundee Sealer, and had just come from Newfoundland, and looked small enough. A little description of the vessel might not be out of place here. She was 226 tons register, about 125 feet long, 27 foot beam, and the sides were very thick, about 18 inches from the inside to the water, very strongly braced and looked rather small for the work she was to do. But a few weeks' work made a great difference.

She was given a thorough over-hauling, her masts and rigging were put into good condition, and some of the seal-oil was scrubbed from her decks and cabins. The sleeping quarters were small, as one might expect—my cabin and surgery combined was 6 feet by 3 feet, but she was a good solidly-built sea boat, and we all felt sure she would stand the test. The stores were rapidly put aboard in numbered water-tight cases, and on July 31st, 1907, we left the Port of London and steamed slowly (the usual way we did steam) down the Thames. At the mouth of the river we were signalled by a Cruiser to put in to Cowes, as His Majesty wished to see and inspect our little vessel. It was a fine sight a day or two later when we steamed up the Solent, where a great many British ships-of-war were lying at anchor. We came to a stop near the huge Dreadnought, and were visited by many people the next few days. The King came on board, all the Officers were presented and then Lieut. Shackleton was asked where the Officers slept. The King was conducted over the ship by our Commander, who explained to him the various details of the Antarctic equipment. After his visit we left the chalk cliffs of Old England astern and our long sea voyage to New Zealand commenced. For nearly four months we followed the "old, old trail" over blue water and, after our first shaking up, which is inevitable on these small Polar ships, we began to settle into the routine of ship's life. The weather soon became fine and warm, and the sea became of that deep blue colour which is characteristic of the Tropics. It was hot but pleasant as we steamed through the "Doldrums"—days of a free and easy lotus-eating life; we began to enjoy watching the flying fish and Dolphins playing about the vessel, the warm night weather, with day and night nearly equal, the practical absence of twilight in the "courts of the sun"—there certainly are worse things than a voyage in tropical waters even on a slow ship like ours.

The two Scientists whom we had with us on board were not so fond of the life, as they had been put in a small part of the after part of the hold which had been built for their accommodation. In the hot weather the seal-oil oozed out of her sides and the Scientists' quarters were indeed an Inferno. We called for coal at St. Vincent, of the Cape Verde group, and I took a short walk ashore. The heat of these barren volcanic Islands was awful, and we were not sorry to get away once more. After we crossed the line the weather became fresher, and soon we began to think of our second stop—the Cape. This we reached early in October and remained there about two days. I had a good walk ashore over the slopes of Table Mountain, and thoroughly enjoyed the short stay—the slides, chalk cliffs, tropical scenes, etc. The next stage of our voyage was from Cape Town to Lyttelton, N.Z., called by sailors, "Running the lasting down." It is a long, tedious, lonesome voyage. One gets very weary of the awful waste of waters in this part of the south Pacific, and there are weeks of grey skies, strong westerly winds, often freshening into gales, following mountainous seas and, what is most interesting of all, the flights of southern sea birds which followed our vessel looking for scraps thrown overboard from the galley. We captured a few of these, which were stored away as specimens. We reached New Zealand about the end of November, passing around the south of Stewart Island, and shortly afterwards we were lying in the Harbour of Lyttelton.

A busy month now followed. The ship was dry-docked and her sides freed from the masses of sea weeds and barnacles which had gathered there on her slow outward voyage, while more stores were put aboard and final preparations made for our voyage south. Here Lieut. Shackleton and the remainder of his staff joined us, and all our means of transport were hoisted aboard; the ten hardy Ponies from Manchuria, the white Eskimo Dogs, which had been brought from Stewart Island and were descendants of those which had been left by the *Southern Cross* about ten years before, and the motor car, which was firmly secured to the after hatch of our vessel. The confusion on board may well be imagined when one thinks of our small deck space, which had to accommodate such a variety of deck cargo, for every available space was occupied. The Ponies, meanwhile, were placed in stalls constructed on deck—five on port, five on starboard with heads facing amidship. On New Year's Day, 1908, we were ready for starting. As we were so hampered for space on our deck it was decided that coal must be sacrificed a little, and to overcome this difficulty one of the Union S.S. Company's No. 2 Steamers, *Koonya* was commissioned to tow the *Nimrod* to the ice region, i.e., to nearly the Antarctic Circle. About 4 p.m. we cast off and proceeded dwon the harbour amid the cheers of thousands of people on Excursion Steamers, while the British Men-of-war, then in port, were decked with flags and good luck signals in our honour.

Near the Heads our towing cable was attacked to the *Koonya* and as we passed the flagship of the Australian Squadron, the *Powerful* which was anchored there, had her men lined up and cheered us while her band played "Hearts of Oak." We were nearly scupper awash in harbour. One can imagine how it felt when we reached the deep sea.

As soon as we gained the blue water a breeze commenced and she started to roll. The good spirits which had been so evident began to subside, and an air of depression was evident. But the gentle breeze next day became a moderate gale, and she became decidedly lively. The green sea soon commenced to come aboard, and as her bows were held down by the cable, she refused to rise to the waves, and chaos soon reigned supreme. The decks were all awash; the wardroom and Scientists' quarters became soaking wet; and we all were soaked with salt spray. We could not get a proper wash for days, and soon the company of men who had been seen in evening dress a few nights before, became a dirty, unwashed crowd of cut-throats, who were obliged to dispense with all the refinements of civilization.

The Ponies had a hard time of it—they were banged against the bulwarks and their hindquarters were soon raw and bleeding. Watches were formed and two men at a time looked after them, relieved every two hours by two other unfortunates. To cross that exposed deck with a howling gale blowing and huge green seas coming aboard was no joke; and then to sit for two hours in scanty shelter watching Horses suffer besides! But in that quarter of the globe one gale follows the other and from a No. 10 gale, a No. 12 began, which means a hurricane. It was a grand, but awful sight. Few of us could ever hope to see again such violence of wind and waves. At times the *Koonya* ahead of us would disappear from view, and often (the Captain told me afterwards) he could see the sea going right over us, when the confusion on board our tiny packet can well be imagined. We were given up for lost several times, but the gallant little vessel rode the waves beautifully though at times one would think she was disappearing down a yawning cavern of green water. When one of those monsters came aboard everything was flooded out, and the Cook in his galley was particularly unfortunate. In the midst of the turmoil he stuck to his post, and though his galley was many times swamped and his pots and pans rained about his head, he usually managed to cook hot meals, which were particularly appreciated, especially the hot pea-soup.

To add to our miseries the ship began to make water, having been strained by the towing, so we were obliged to get to the pumps in shifts of about three or four. But as the hand pumps could not cope with the difficulty steam had to be used a little later. Then two of the Ponies had to be shot, one having been turned over in his stall and the other on account of the continual pounding he had received on the bulwarks. These disasters were enough to discourage anyone, but the cheerful bearing of the Commander was an example to all of us—for cheerfulness is the key-note of success in moments like these. But all things must end, and at last we came to more peaceful waters. We were now near the Antarctic Circle, and ice was sighted. It was time for the *Koonya* to leave us, and after losing considerable time sending some fresh mutton aboard our ship, she steamed northward, and we were alone, but near our work. Steam was now got up and soon she was on her way moving slowly southward. It was beautiful still weather, and after dinner that night as we came on deck—the ice was here, the ice was there, the ice was all around. There it was, loose floe ice, huge icebergs, many over one hundred feet in height, mostly of the flat-topped or tabular southern variety, but often fantastically weathered like the North Atlantic bergs—and we knew we had at last entered those regions which we had been so long waiting to see.

Here a short description of the country towards which we were sailing might explain a few points brought forward later. Unlike the Northern polar regions, the far South consists of a huge land mass—a great Continent. It is very mountainous, the lofty peaks being near the sea coast, the interior being a table land 8,000 to 11,000 feet above sea level. According to Arctic explorers the North Pole is situated on frozen sea, but the South Pole, according to our Commander, undoubtedly lies on a plateau 11,000 feet above sea level, and is a true roof of the world. The western portion of this continent is named Victoria Land, and was discovered by Sir James Ross in 1841; the eastern portion of what is believed to be the same continent, is called King Edward Seventh Land. This latter was located by the *Discovery* about eight years ago.

Between these two land masses and stretching for many hundreds of miles, forming a pure white coast line of ice cliffs varying from 100 to 250 feet in height and extending inland from 200 to 300 miles to meet the mountain ranges of the huge continent lies the remarkable feature of the Antarctic—the great ice barrier. That part of the Antarctic which washes these ice cliffs and extends between Victoria Land to the west and King Edward Land to the east is called the Ross Sea after the pioneer explorer of these waters. Separated from the coast of Victoria Land by a channel termed McMurdo Sound, lies a volcanic Island—Ross Island. On this island are situated two fine peaks—Mount Erebus, 13,000 feet and Mount Terror, 11,000 feet in height. Erebus is an active volcano, but Terror is quiescent. The Barrier runs south of these peaks and reaches its least height there, 20 to 30 feet. In winter the Ross Sea is frozen far out, but in summer it becomes comparatively free of ice. The heavy floe ice massed together drifts northward in summer forming pack ice which must, as a rule, be negotiated before a ship can enter the Ross Sea. This explains why a wooden ship is used in Polar work, as all this moving sea of ice would crush an iron one and sink her.

It was Commander Shackleton's intention to make his winter quarters on King Edward Land, but it will be seen later why he had to abandon that plan. The next morning everyone felt in good spirits and cheerfulness prevailed on the *Nimrod* for we were now enjoying brilliant Antarctic summer weather—very like early December in Canada when the air is fresh and clear, and the sun bright. But what a sight greeted our eyes as we came on deck. We were in the midst of a veritable "Ice Venice"—a white fairyland. There were ice-bergs all about us—thousands of them, some of small size, some miles in length, usually over 100 feet in height and flat topped, some weathered fantastically into cathedrals and castles—and through this maze the *Nimrod* threaded her way. Sometimes there was barely room for our yards to pass between the bergs, often we heard and saw masses of the monsters break off and fall into the sea near us, and there now appeared some real Antarctic life—the pretty little snowy petrel, almost invisible when on the pure white snow, the comical penguin which squawked it's curiosity and the dark body of a seal asleep on a floe. The silence was really remarkable—one felt in an enchanted world—a great white fairyland, where man was an intruder. We feared lest a gale should spring up when our condition would be most serious, but after traversing nearly 120 miles of this remarkable sea of ice, we entered open water and steered southeast towards the Barrier. A few days later we sighted that remarkable end of the world—a true barrier as far as ships were concerned. We steamed quite close and had splendid opportunities to see and photograph this huge ice-wall.

Sometimes in the depths of a vertical crevasse one could get a glimpse of a deep blue interior, while near the sea it was often weathered into lovely caves from the roofs of which hung exquisite ice stalactites. It was a fine sight to observe the sea rising and falling in these icy caverns. The Barrier towered high above our masts so that we could not see over its upper surface as we steamed along. After following this white coast for several days we arrived one night (mid-night with the sun shining brightly) at an inlet in the Barrier, where we could see what appeared to be hills to the south. We called this the Bay of Whales, for everywhere they were spouting and showing their huge triangular fins above the water as they swam about, and many penguins were guarding this part of the Continent. The Bay swarmed with life. We now found that our passage to the east was blocked by miles of heavy pack coming down from the north so we had to turn and attempt to work around this huge ice-field.

So rapid was the drift of this pack that we were within an ace of being crushed between the pack and the Barrier, where we all should have certainly perished. But we escaped that danger and attempted to circumnavigate that belt of pack. This was impossible for, as far as we could see, there was the enemy always in sight. Thus, were we held up about forty miles from King Edward Land, and as that route had to be abandoned a scheme of wintering on the Barrier near the Bay of Whales was entertained—but not for long. On comparing the present outline on the chart of the Barrier with that of the previous Expedition it was found that fifteen miles of the Barrier had broken away in six years, forming southern ice-bergs. It was terrible to think of a Hut constructed on such a treacherous surface as that, so but one course was left to us—to steer westward for McMurdo Sound and establish winter quarters in that vicinity. So we retraced our steps along the Barrier and about three days later a white cloud was observed on the horizon which soon resolved itself into a lofty white cone with a column of steam rising from the summit. This was Erebus and soon it's twin peak, Terror, came into view, both peaks being miraged very much and appearing much loftier than they really were.

Soon we were in the Sound, where we found considerable ice and we then were at a standstill—fast in sea ice. We were able to get on this solid surface and stretch our cramped limbs after our long confinement on board ship. But patience is the one thing needful in these regions and after waiting some days the ice began to go out of the Sound, and we were able to get fairly near the land, near a rocky Cape known as Cape Royds, where Lieut. Shackleton decided to make his winter quarters. The ship was brought alongside the ice face and anchored securely with ice anchors, a gang-way was put over her side, and stones hoisted from the hold and sent down the chutes where they were sledged away to a more solid fixed ice near the land. A hastily made horse-box was put into action, and our eight remaining ponies were landed, and their first act was to have a good roll in the snow which must have been like Paradise to them. Next the motor car was swung over the side and hauled to a place of safety. Everyone was now working like a Trojan, for time was getting short. Never did meals taste better to hungry men than on those days, when we toiled in the blazing heat of the Antarctic summer.

The weather was now getting more unsettled, and often work was delayed when a strong southeast blizzard would spring up and force the ship to leave her moorings. The ice was rapidly breaking up, and we very nearly had disasters both to men and supplies from this reason. On one occasion we nearly lost a whole pile of supplies through supposedly fixed ice breaking up rapidly, and that was one occasion when life was strenuous. But soon it was impossible to land the gear save by means of boats. That was fearful work, for wielding a heavy spruce oar in a whale-boat in the midst of a sea filled with loose pack ice is not pleasant, especially in zero weather with a south-easter blowing. It was a novel experience for me to row bow in a whale-boat and land stores alongside an ice cliff with a heavy swell running. We had often the greatest difficulty in approaching the shore in our small boat, owing to pack ice which nearly capsized us several times as we pushed our way through it—but the work had to be done and we accomplished it in some way. Meanwhile, the hut in which the party was to winter had been put together and now came the most difficult task—the boating of coal in bags from ship to shore. We toiled amidst slush and coal-dust and were all tired and dirty and disgusted, but it was now a race with the sun. Old Sol who had shone without ceasing since we entered these regions now commenced to dip below the horizon, and, tired as we were, we had to stop and admire the lovely autumn tints. A lovely pink glow shone over Erebus and Terror, and the glaciers on the western shore caught the glow and resembled rivers of gold. On one occasion we worked for forty hours with coal and nearly slept on our feet—in fact, one man slept with his feet over the engine that night and wondered what was striking his feet as he lay there. It was the pump of the engine, for a breeze had sprung up and we had to leave for open sea.

Towards the close we encountered a fearful blizzard. A wind of hurricane violence (force 12) sprang up and the temperature became very low. Thick, blinding snow began to fall and was driven along by the force of the gale. How the wind did howl in our rigging! The temperature fell to 18 degrees, each sea as it came aboard froze solid on our bulwarks, decks and lower rigging, and she was soon a floating iceberg. She was put head to wind at "Full ahead," and yet she drifted 60 miles to leeward! We had two men at the wheel muffled to the eyes and another stationed at the rudder well with a pick to free the rudder of ice. which kept forming in any moment of calm, and prevented her responding to her helm. Sometimes an iceberg loomed up through the blinding gale and it was a grand sight, but terrible, for we would wonder if we could weather it. The sea became covered in the masses of snow blown seaward from the land by the gale; then the violence of the gale abated so that on February 22 we left our companions on the bleak shores of Cape Royds and steered for sunny New Zealand. It seemed almost as though they were a crowd of marooned sailors as we watched that dark group of figures fast receding from our sight. and we knew we should not see them again for many months. We reached New Zealand early in March, where we wintered, and sailed again for the south on December 1, 1908. The voyage south was comparatively uneventful this time, and we experienced no such weather as on the last occasion. We were under sail alone for most of the time. and thus reached the Antarctic Circle with nearly full bunkers, This time we passed through no ice Venice but steamed slowly through pack ice for two days.

Being held up in the pack we were sometimes able to observe the penguins and seals closely. The seal usually found in the pack was the crab-eater, a large beast with powerful teeth, and a very beautiful coat which varies from brown to a silvery white. Whales were also fairly plentiful and are of the "Killer" variety mentioned before. They are very powerful brutes and many a seal we saw was scarred where it had been wounded by the terrors of these waters. After about two days of slow forcing through the pack, we entered open water once more. An attempt was once more made to work to the east, but the enemy held us up again, but not before we had penetrated deeply into an area marked on the chart as "compact hummocky pack." As it was not possible to make much headway to the east, we turned her head towards Cape Royds.

We were blocked at the entrance of McMurdo Sound and had many fine walks on skis over the firm sea-ice, always on the lookout for the floes breaking up and going to sea. This is one of the great dangers of sea-ice—it breaks away and is away from the main body of ice before one dreams of danger. After a few days of waiting, and as the ice appeared firm, it was decided to send a party with the mails to Cape Royds. They escaped by a miracle, for the next day miles of sea-ice broke away and they had to haul their sledge over opening lanes as they ran from floe to floe. Reaching land, they had a terrible journey over the greatly crevassed glaciers of the slopes of Mount Erebus and arrived in a fearfully exhausted condition at the hut, abandoning the mails in order to travel lighter.

Sledging on sea-ice is highly dangerous work and constitutes one of the great dangers in Arctic Exploration. About January 4th, 1909, we reached Cape Royds, the ice having fairly well left that part of the Sound, and five savages rushed out to meet us, running over rotten sea-ice. We found that our party had not yet reached them, so we pushed off again to look for the lost ones. How those fellows did talk! We were an event coming in from the outside world while they had had nothing but their own company for months. They told us of the ascent of Erebus, the most southerly volcano in the world, and of the start of the three sledging parties, south, westward and north. We had not proceeded very far when we were caught in an ice pressure and nearly lost our rudder. A regular Inferno was raging astern of us, and huge floes as big as our ship were being lifted bodily from the water, showing us the awful power of the ice pack. We were in the midst of it and caught in its pitiless embrace. We were carried away towards the coast of Victoria Land. Often we could feel the ship crushed in this ice pressure as though by a giant hand, and feel her stout sides giving in with that awful strain. Our greatest alarm was for the rudder and propellor which constitute what Hansen styles the "Achilles' heel of Polar ships." We were held up thus in this dangerous situation for many days and could do nothing but admire the beautiful white peaks and glaciers of Victoria Land. Patience is not a virtue but a necessity in these cases, but it was trying to be held up in this way when we knew we were consuming valuable coal and that our shipmates were likely in great danger. In about ten days, however, the pack slackened and we steamed through floes which gave the appearance of an ice Venice, but not on such a grand scale as the one on the previous voyage.

After some terrific forcing, and some bumps against the more solid floes, which made her stout frame shiver, we reached Cape Royds, and learned of our companions' safe arrival, after their awful journey. We now commenced to take things aboard and sledged boxes of specimens, geological and biological gear of all kinds, personal effects—in fact, all we could possibly manage, for we wished to avoid as much Antarctic boating as possible. Towards the end of January we sailed across the

Sound to locate the western party, who were exploring on the western coast of Victoria Land. About noon that day, the Captain noticed a heliograph message and we knew that men were not far off. We ran in alongside a small glacier tongue, and three bronzed and bearded men in real Polar garb came down to meet the ship. Having been in each other's company for nearly two months their tongues were loosened and they did talk! They had just been delivered from a horrible predicament. They had camped on sea-ice one night and in the morning saw to their horror that they were on a moving floe. The leader of the party immediately shortened the rations, and they were determined to fight against fate to the end. To add to their troubles Killer whales began to crowd about and look over the edge of the floe with their wicked eyes at the unfortunates, as well as coming partly over it to try to break it up. This is the way they capture their prey—unfortunate seals and penguins near the edge are often caught in this manner. The floe on which they were camped came back with the tide, the corner on which they were placed fortunately caught on the firm land ice a few minutes, and they rushed across to see their floe go seawards a few moments later. The fate of three men afloat on a floe is too horrible to think about.

Our next task was to pick up the northern party. They had proceeded much farther north than the ones so recently rescued. They had made a dash for the Magnetic Pole—a point lying in Lat. 72 degrees and on the plateau behind the lofty ranges guarding the coast of Victoria Land. We thus had a search along nearly two hundred miles of coast, keeping a sharp look out for any tent, flag, or heliographic message. It was no easy task, as the season was getting more advanced and colder, the coast is very rugged and contains many bays and rocky capes which confine much pack ice, thus making a close survey of the coast very difficult. But it was a lovely sight, that coasting voyage along those miles of lofty, white mountain ranges and crevassed glaciers. We passed a small barrier about 90 feet in height, which sheltered us somewhat from the bitter wind, which we could see was raging above. We proceeded north to Cape Washington where we turned and just escaped disaster at this point by the sheerest chance. I can well remember that anxious moment as the *Nimrod* struggled in heavy pack and contrary wind to beat off Cape Washington, and we all breathed more freely when we reached open water once more.

On our return we entered a small inlet in the Barrier, and to our joy picked up our party. One of them nearly lost his life in a crevasse at the very moment of deliverance. But soon we had them on board and heard of the terrible march. They had lived like Hannibal of old on the country through which they were marching. They had killed seals and penguins along the coast and had thus been able to plant the British Flag on the South Magnetic Pole, a point 8,000 feet above sea level. They had travelled 1,100 miles and had had many escapes from death in a very crevassed glacier country. They were a strange looking crowd after so long an absence from civilization and their lean, brown faces and unkempt appearance showed they had been up against nature in her wildest moods. Now we had one more party to pick up—the southern party.

They were many days overdue and we were getting anxious. We entered a little natural harbour in a glacier tongue near where they were expected and waited patiently. It was a curious dock we were in, amid white walls which crumbled away considerably and fell into the sea near us. The days were now getting colder and the sun dipped every night, and again the autumn tints shone over the pure white, cold-looking landscape. We saw that a little more boating work would be necessary as the ice had left the Sound entirely now. At the end of February we cast off and proceeded south to see if we could find any trace of the party. To our joy we saw two figures on the shore waiting for us, one of whom was the Commander himself. There was a great outburst of cheering from the whole ship as the anxiety which had been hovering around for the last few weeks disappeared in that moment. So much were we afraid of the fate of that party that we had organized a relief party to look for them that morning, and had made all preparations for them to winter.

After the excitement of meeting had passed we learned of their great march of over 1,700 miles where they had faced the most awful dangers one could even think of, starvation, crevassed surfaces, high altitudes and bitter cold. A look at their emaciated forms and sunken cheeks showed what they had endured. But they had penetrated far into that great white land, and had planted the British Flag in 88 degrees 23 Min. south Longtitude, 62 degrees east, on a lofty plateau 11,000 feet high. One of their party had been taken ill with dysentery and was left behind with a companion while the other two pushed on to the ship. A relief party was quickly organized while the ship pushed north to Cape Royds to see to the landing of the remaining stores. Once more we were in for Antarctic boating, and again we had to bend to the oars in zero weather with a strong south-easter blowing.

Our men suffered much from frost bite that night and my own hands still dread the cold after that boating. We nearly lost one boat and a dozen men, for a strong blizzard sprang up and they could make no headway. The men were nearly exhausted with cold and exposure and escaped only by a timely rope dangling from the cliff. We watched their gallant struggle in the sea from our decks but were unable to help them, and were glad when we saw them rescued from their perilous plight. Then we proceeded south, picked up the entire southern party who had returned by this time, and left those barren shores. The sea was now freezing and the navigation season was over in those waters. As we passed the old Hut the explorers sang the familiar strain of "Auld Lang Syne." We coasted along Victoria Land, past Cape Adare with the hut of the '98 Expedition still standing, and saw evidences of new land trending to the Northwest. Heavy pack here beset us, and we hurried horthward, reaching New Zealand without mishap, and never were men so glad to see the fresh green landscape of that beautiful country.

A few words here about our transport—we had an Arrol-Johnson Motor car with a powerful engine, which was of considerable service laying depots on frozen sea ice, but it was not used on the Barrier because of the changing surface and crevasses. We started out with 10 Ponies, lost two on the ship and four died from eating lava crystals which they took for salt, the four white ones surviving. They did splendid service on the southern journey. The last one, "Socks" by name, disappeared into a crevasse and nearly pulled one of the men with him. They had been brought from Manchuria to New Zealand and broken in a little there. The dogs were secured at Stewart Island, and did splendid service, going long journeys on the Barrier.

This is a brief account of the two voyages of the *Nimrod* in southern waters, but a few additional remarks may perhaps not be out of place here. We wore no furs except for the covering of hands and feet, using heavy woollen suits and a wind-proof garment over all. The powerful penetrating wind is more to be dreaded than low temperature, and we found these suits excellent. I can testify to their quality from personal experience in the boat work. We had no trace of scurvy either on ship or ashore—in fact, except for a few accidents there was no great call on the Medicine chest. We found that cuts did not heal well. They would not suppurate, but were slow in closing. When the southern party were on the Plateau and food supply was scanty their temperatures went to 94 degrees, at times rising to 97 degrees or 98 degrees when hot food was taken. They suffered from dysentery when they ate the meat from one of the ponies which was very exhausted before it was sacrificed. Care must be taken after a long sledging trip on which concentrated food alone is used, not to fall when tempted with good things, lest the contracted stomach expand too suddenly and cause fearful cramps. Frost bites, of course, were very common and are similar to what we suffer here.

Concerning the animal life of the south, there is little more to add. I have spoken of the whale and one variety of seal. There is also the stupid, good-natured Weddell Seal—a large sleepy beast with a very pretty coat. He spends most of his time asleep on the ice where he is secure from harm and has decided objections to being disturbed from his slumbers. The penguin is the most interesting feature of the south. One never grows tired of watching these strange creatures. There are two varieties—the Emperor and the Adelie. The former stands as high as four feet and is a most interesting bird. He is usually found with many others in a colony and they are great explorers. When Emperors meet they do some very ceremonial bowing like a party of Chinese Mandarins. They are very prettily coloured about the throat, but the colours unfortunately fade considerably in the stuffed specimen. This remarkable bird brings forth young in the depth of winter, and when that duty is over travels all about the country. The Adelie is a comical little fellow, about 1 inch to 1½ inches in height. The winter quarters were near a rookery of penguins, so, although it was rather objectionable in summer, they had a good chance to observe the curious habits of these weird creatures. They come to the rookery in springtime and begin making their nests—a circle of pebbles is where the two young chicks, which are of a slaty-grey colour, are brought up. The apparent stupidity of the penguin is due to his short sight—for being adapted more for aquatic life where he swims rather like a Dolphin and catches small crustaceans, which are his food—he does not see well on land.

When the old penguin has the two young to look after the rookery becomes fairly noisy. The bird does not know its own young, for if a young one gets away from the nest he will not be recognized by his own parent, and amusing complications arise. The old birds go out to sea to get food for the young, the male and female going alternately, leaving the mate to watch the chicks in his absence. The young one puts his head down the old one's throat to feed, and when the chicks grow up a lively time ensues when they chase the old bird to make him disgorge. He does not know which chick he is feeding, and how the weak ones, who cannot persist, survive is a mystery. The young take to the water early in the autumn and the rookery is deserted about that time, the last to leave being the old birds who stay behind to moult. The remaining bird life consists of the Carrion Gull and the Giant Petrel, which latter is remarkable for a great capacity for gorging. It will, if obliged to fly, disgorge its food, for it is so filled that it cannot rise from the ice.

Thus it is seen that there is no land life whatever on this great continent, but sea life is plentiful, both small and great. This is what makes southern work so difficult, as when one leaves the coast there is no prospect of living on the country. The north, roughly speaking, means sledging over sea-ice with all its terrible dangers. The south means mountaineering and glacier work, with their hidden pitfalls, so it is difficult to say which presents the more danger—or shall I say, fascination. For when one sees the great silent solitudes of the Polar regions he can understand the fascination which the Great White Land exerts over men and impels them to seek to penetrate into those parts where man has never been, and nature in her wildest grandeur reigns supreme.

The Very Reverend A. E. Burke, D.D., LL.D.

THE IRISHMAN'S PLACE IN THE EMPIRE.

Address by the Very REV. A. E. BURKE, D.D., LL.D., President of the Catholic Extension Society of Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 7th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I had the honour, last year, I think it was, to address a few words to this Empire Club, and as far as I am able to-day I will in a few cursory remarks speak of the Irishman's place in the Empire. I understand the assemblage to-day is as large, if not larger, than has been here on other occasions, and I am glad to know that in the City of Toronto, at least, Irishmen are able to attract a crowd upon any occasion whatsoever. I am afraid that some of you came to see a specimen of that divergency of colour which is emblematic of the Irishman himself.

I have heard of a case where it was thought that even Irish blood ran green. I want to show you before I am through to-day, that the Irish blood has often run red in defence of the British Empire. You have had England and Scotland spoken of before this Club, but all I can say in the few words to you to-day is that I think that Ireland has played about as truthful and faithful a part in the affairs of the Empire as any of the other nations you have had represented at these gatherings. I say this notwithstanding what she has borne as a servant in the past, what she bears as a servant to-day. There is no matter what she has borne, the Empire will go the more steadily forward for the help of Ireland and Ireland's sons. Irishmen have kept the balance of the Empire from taking things too seriously. We have Scotland with her seriousness, and England with her seriousness, and we have Ireland's humour to leaven the whole lump. Without Irish wit we would not have the composite Empire which is the pride of the world to-day.

She has contributed a great deal to the gaiety of the nation by the wit which bubbles out so spontaneously on the slightest provocation; you have many illustrations of this in the writings of Jonah Barrington. You have all heard of Chief Justice Lord Norbury, also called in an epitaph "the Hanging Judge." He was able to hang anything in Ireland, especially if it had any connection with priestly matters, like myself, or had anything to do with the religion to which I belong. A fellow named McCarthy, his valet, came before him charged with murder, the Jury brought in a verdict of guilty, the Chief Justice sentenced him to be taken to a certain place on a certain day, and there be hanged by the neck until completely dead, he was then to be taken down, disemboweled and his limbs quartered. Then the Chief Justice repeated the solemn words used on such occasion: "And may the Lord have mercy on your Soul." At this juncture McCarthy said: "Stop! Judge, your prayers never yet did anybody any good, and I don't want them." This so impressed the Chief Justice, that he commuted his sentence to transportation for life.

We also have other cases of Irish wit, one of which might be mentioned here. The story is told of a very stingy man taking a paltry sum of money to an Irish artist—payment is always exacted in advance—and asking him to paint his portrait. The artist at once complied with the request, but when the portrait was finished nothing was visible save the back of the sitter's head. "What does this mean?" cried the sitter. "I thought that a man who paid so little as you paid wouldn't care to show his face." I need not give any more illustrations of Irish wit, but Ireland has also given of her sons to form "the thin red line" that never faltered when the fate of the nation hung in the balance. I need not mention the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wolseley, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and many other famous Generals, including Sir John French, all of whom have been in the forefront of the Empire's battles on land and sea; they are well-known to you. At Waterloo, the illustrious charge of the Irish made on those terrible French battalions, needs no mention; at Balaclava, the Enniskillens and Scots Greys met and defeated the Russians; at Modder River, under General Buller, where the fighting was so furious that the river was choked with bodies, the Enniskillens again distinguished themselves; in the Peninsular War, and on every battlefield in the last 400 years, Ireland has given of her best blood in defence of the Empire which we are glad to claim as our own and she is willing to do so again if need be.

She has also given great statesmen to the Empire, and Ireland to-day is helping materially to solve the grave problems which confront the nation. She has given great orators, and in the 18th century she contributed Burke, Grattan, Hood, Sheridan, Curran and others. Burke has been styled the greatest political philosopher the world has known. Largely to his ability and knowledge of constitutional law are we indebted for the code of laws under which we are privileged to live, whether here or in the Old Land. I need not, therefore, mention to you the other statesmen. You know them all; you have thousands of their stirring speeches—given when they had any grievances. Among the other outstanding Irish statesmen and orators of the 19th century I might mention O'Connell, Plunkett, Meagher and Sullivan. I listened to Mr. Taft the other day speaking in a great auditorium of one of the large hotels in Chicago to 15,000 representative Irish people and other nationalities from all over the United States, and I was glad to hear him say what I am about to read to you, concerning the Irish people:

> English history and English literature are full of the achievements of native sons of Ireland. The greatest of English political philosophers, statesmen and orators, Edmund Burke, was born in Dublin of parents who came from Cork; and a family long settled in the South of Ireland. So, too, an earlier and only less noted political writer and literary genius, Dean Swift, was born in Dublin. Of the literary men of England, Sheridan, Goldsmith, and Sterne were Irishmen. Of English military geniuses, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Wolesley, Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener and many others were Irishmen. So, too, at the bar, the greatest equity lawyer that England has ever known, Hugh Cairns, made Lord Chancellor and Earl Cairns of the English peerage, was born

in the County of Down. Ireland, and the same County produced the first Roman Catholic Chief Justice of England, Lord Russell of Killowen.

This was the testimony of the President of the United States to the great genius of the Irish people in these different departments of life. Now, then, the President told us in speaking of Irishmen on his side of the Line that they had contributed their part to the upbuilding of their national life and the character of the people. So far as the United States is concerned we are not so much interested for the moment, but he says: "The Irishman has contributed in this common type to its chivalry, its courage, its courtesy, its resiliency, its capacity for enjoyment of life, its imagination and last but not least in importance, its sense and its enjoyment of humour." If the United States' President could say this in regard to the Republic, we can speak with added certainty in regard to this great Canada of ours. For we know that Irishmen have, and are, contributing to-day in every department of life to that which is best in our Canadian life, and that they make citizens second to none in this or any other country—they are not only the last but will be the first to defend this Empire from whatever source the necessity may come:

No treason we bring from Erin—nor bring we shame
  nor guilt!
The sword we hold may be broken, but we have not
  dropped the hilt!
The wreath we bear to Columbia is twisted of thorns,
  not bays;
And the songs we sing are saddened by thoughts of
  desolate days.
But the hearts we bring for Freedom are washed in the
  surge of tears;
And we claim our rights by a people's fight outliving a
  thousand years!

What bring ye else to the Building? O, willing hands to
toil;
Strong natures tuned to the harvest-song, and bound to
the kindly soil;
Bold pioneers for the wilderness, defenders in the field,—
The sons of a race of soldiers who never learned to yield.
Young hearts with duty brimming—as faith makes sweet
the due;
Their truth to me their witness they cannot be false to
you.

If that be a true expression of what the Irish were in their own native land—of their allegiance to those principles that are nearer and dearer to them than life itself; it is also a criterion of what the Irishmen will be in this country of ours, what they have been, what they are at present, and will be in the future in developing our country, maintaining it, and doing all possible to be done so that Irish life over seas may add stability and prestige to our national position. We have seen as far as Ireland is concerned, her position in regard to the defence of the Empire—she has helped and stood by the Emipre as no other race has attempted to do. Irishmen have also done much for the unity of the Empire; take for instance D'Arcy McGee, who first was supposed to come out to this country as a rebel, but who was as truly a martyr to Canadian unity as any man who was ever sacrificed. After his conference with Sir Charles Tupper, at Charlottetown, P.E.I., where they planned the Federation of the Canadian Provinces, he went from one side of Canada to the other, as you all know who have read history, and by his eloquence and persuasive power, did more than any other man to bring to a successful issue the unity of this country which we call Canada, which we consider the greatest part of the Empire, and the best portion of the world. All this he did, and when it became necessary to form the first Cabinet in Canada, Sir John Macdonald, who was an astute politician, found it necessary to leave without portfollio two of his best men, and one of those two was the man who stood head and shoulders above all the others—D'Arcy McGee. And we citizens of Canada cannot revere the name of D'Arcy McGee too highly, for he was in reality a Hero of reform in this country of ours.

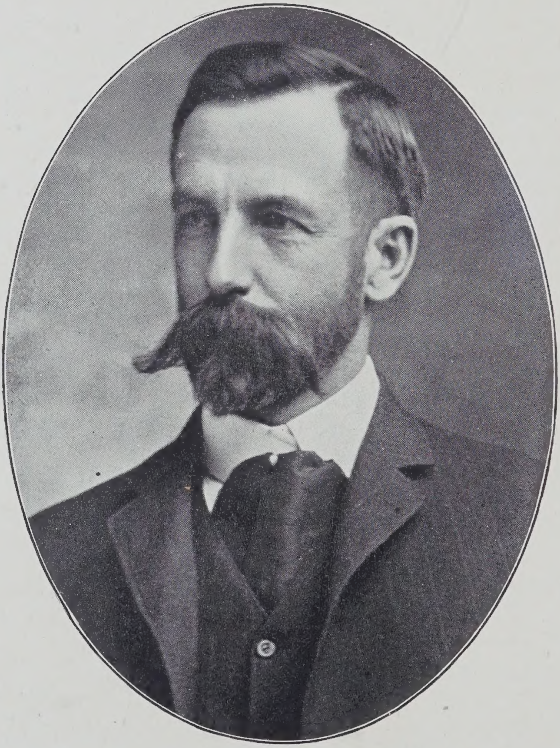
I might mention the names of a few other Irishmen who have helped to build up the colonial greatness of the Empire, such as Kenny, Whelan, Charles Gavan Duffy, Thompson, Howland, Edward Blake among many others. They are a few of the Irishmen who, coming from other parts of the Empire, have helped to make our country what we would like to have it become. I hope and trust, and know, you will all agree with me when I say that we are only at the commencement of this Empire. I became an Imperialist very early in life —though I did not know what the term really meant. When I was a young priest, my Archbishop (Dr. O'Brien, of Halifax,) who was a very strong Imperialist and belonged to the Imperial Federation League, in fact, was one of its founders, came to me one day and said he wanted to speak to me on a very particular subject. He said, "I want you to participate in the views I hold on Imperial questions." I asked him what they were and he told me, in an abstract way, that it was to look upon subjects of the British Empire, no matter in what part of the world they might be, as members of one great British family, and also to help them through in their necessities and troubles, so that we may stand as one great Empire, the centre of which would be Great Britain.

This satisfied me, and from that time forward I have been an Imperialist and have always done what I could to pass these principles along to any of the Irishmen over whom I had any influence—for it is not necessary to use much argument with those who have reached affluence in this country. Like D'Arcy McGee, for instance, they were not those who would destroy anything British, but would help to make the British Empire stronger in the future and extend it farther into the world for the world's good. We find that this is true not only as far as D'Arcy McGee is concerned but of other great Irishmen who have been in responsible positions in Canadian government. They believe with us, that we have a constitution as good as anything in the world. It has its faults, 'tis true, but our men are loyal to the British constitution, and, if it were necessary to defend our flag and country we should be first in the field. We believe if occasion should arise we will be found there. I don't want to vaunt myself, but if the country called to-morrow I would be found ready to defend Canadians rights, no matter who offended her. Now you have had before this Club addresses from men representing different nations. They have spoken of their virtues and perhaps of some shortcomings. I might say I never saw Ireland myself, or my father before me, but my grandfather did. He came from Tipperary, and a Tipperary man never turns his back on anything. No matter what we are, we want to keep up the traditions of those who have gone before us, and we will have a unified and homogeneous people. I will close these rambling remarks in the words of the poet:

O, blood of the people! changless tide, through century, creed and race
Still one as the sweet salt sea is one, though tempered by sun and place;
The same in the ocean currents, and the same in the sheltered seas;
Forever the fountain of common hopes and kindly sympathies.

In moving a vote of thanks, Dr. Sweeny, Bishop of Toronto said: With a very great deal of pleasure I rise to convey your thanks to the eloquent speaker who has so well illustrated his remarks by his wit and humour in the address he has given us this afternoon. I begin to be suspicious, Mr. President, that you have some Church union scheme on hand, in calling on me to move votes of thanks to Presbyterians, Methodists, and now to the good brother yonder. I believe this should be one of the first objects of the Empire Club; so be it! If the gentlemen who have spoken on past occasions are representative men, we are all glad to be brothers, and will be glad to "take them all in," as I said before, when moving a vote of thanks to the last speaker.

Now if the Englishman contributes solidty and permanency to the Empire and the Scotchman thrift, then I know you will agree with me, the Irishman contributes his wit. It would be a poor hum-drum world, indeed, if not for the Irishmen. He also contributes his grievances. I am a good deal like the speaker in one respect, that is, neither my father nor myself were born in Ireland, but my grandfather was. He came from Cor-r-rk, and we had some land down there in the long, long ago and my father, almost every month, received an official looking letter containing grievances from Ireland. I do not know what the British Parliament would do without an Irish grievance or so, any more than the rest of us would do without the Irish humour.



Professor Willlet G. Miller, M.A., LL.D.
Provincial Geologist of Ontario.

THE MINERAL INDUSTRIES OF CANADA.

Address by PROFESSOR W. G. MILLER, M.A., LL.D., Provincial Geologist of Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 14th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

My work in connection with the mineral industry makes me usually feel more at home in the bush than addressing a Club such as this; but I feel quite at home to-day, owing to the fact that the President of the Club hails from my home country, sometimes called "Glorious Old Norfolk," while the gentleman on my left is also a native of that place. I also see many gentlemen around whom I have met at College, or with whom I have been associated in mineral industries. I am much pleased at having this opportunity of being present with you today. As the time is short I will not try to treat my subject very systematically, but will take up the points which I think will be of the most interest to you.

The Mineral industry is one of four in this country, and probably the country's best natural resource. Agriculture, Minerals, Forestry and Fisheries are the four great industries. The Mineral industry of Canada at the present time is second in value of output only to that of Agriculture, and of course, the output of Agriculture represents a good deal of labour, so it is hard to make a fair comparison of the two. Yet notwithstanding the fact that we have probably heard more about Forestry of late years in a public way than Minerals, the Mineral industry is greater than those of Forestry and Fisheries combined.

This will show you the extent of the Mineral industry in our own country. I might say that in the United States 65 per cent. of the freight carried by the railway companies is minerals or mineral products, so in that country the Mineral industry has a very high standing.

Then I might say that we feel in Canada, while we have made great progress during recent years, we have great room for expansion in the future, when we consider the production of the United States. In that country the production represents $25 per head of the population, while in Canada, at the present time, the production represents about half that amount, or $12.50 per head of the population. Then if we consider the rate of increase we have made in the production of Mineral wealth during the last few years, I think we have great encouragement for the future.

We feel that while it is important now it will be much more important in a comparatively short time, for during the year 1909 the output of our mines in Canada represented a value of $90,000,000; five years before that it represented only $60,000,000; an increase of 50 per cent. in five years. And if we go back about fifteen years we find the production then was only about one-fifth of what it is now; so it represents five times the output at the present time that it did fifteen years ago. Then if we take our own Province of Ontario our output is based on a mean valuation of about $40,000,000, but in Ontario we are rather modest, and so do not value the products of the mines as they do in some other places, but simply value it at what it is worth at the mines. In Ontario, in 1909, our statistics show that we had an output of $33,000,000 or more than any other Province in the Dominion. I do not know whether there are any gentlemen here from British Columbia, which used to be called the Mineral Province of the Dominion, and the only Province which would produce minerals in paying quantities. At the present time this Province of Ontario, which has no coal, is producing one-third of the minerals of the Dominion. Of course Nova Scotia and British Columbia both have coal.

If we go back only ten years in the history of Mineral industries in Ontario, to 1899, the output was then a little over $8,000,000, so in ten years, Ontario has increased fourfold or 400 per cent. I think that these statistics give us great encouragement for the future of our Mineral industry. Our population is just beginning to increase—we have vast territories undeveloped—and in ten, fifteen, or twenty years there is no doubt in my mind but that Canada will be one of the greatest Mineral countries in the world. Look at what the building of railways in Canada, so far, has done in connection with the Mineral industry! For instance, the building of the C.P.R. discovered that great Sudbury camp in Northern Ontario, the output from which is roughly estimated (and I think my friend, Mr. J. M. Clark, will bear me out on this) at something like $100,000,000 in copper, nickel and mineral by-products. The Railway discovered that camp, which it is estimated may easily last for many generations. There is no mining camp in America or in the world that has so much high grade ore in sight; as far as we can see it will last for many generations, and of course that camp is only in its infancy.

Then when the Ontario Government built the T. & N. O. Railway up through the northern part of the country, for agricultural purposes (it was simply built to open up their land for agriculture) it discovered Cobalt which has produced about $38,000,000, but the best part of it is that nearly $28,000,000 has been paid as profits in dividends. This Government line of about 450 miles has cost thirteen or fourteen million dollars, so the output of that little camp, which has an area of a little over three or four miles in extent has more than paid for that whole railroad. I just give you these instances which have resulted from the building of the C.P.R. and T. & N. O. Railways to show what we may expect from the building of the railways, proposed and under construction, at the present time. For instance, that Transcontinental Railway which is running across to the Pacific has easily doubled the possible area in Canada, making our country twice as great in a certain sense. Then we have the Canadian Northern extending its lines, and that railway they are having a little trouble about at the present time, running from Edmonton to Fort McMurray; also the line the Dominion Government seem committed to build up there at Hudson's Bay.

There has been some criticism of this latter scheme, but I think the railway is well worth construction, even if there is never a carload of grain shipped over the line, when you consider the great territory which will be tributary to it along the shores of Hudson's Bay. We know that the rock formations in that district are the same as those in Michigan and Minnesota which made those States world-famous for their iron ore and copper, and the outlook is very promising from a mineral point of view. There is one of the greatest copper deposits up there near Copper River, perhaps, in the world. It has not been visited since the year 1826, and as I said in addressing another Club, "The country is so large that you cannot get around it more than once every hundred years." To give you an idea of the inaccessibility of that country, I thought some time ago I would like to go myself and see it, but found upon figuring it out that I would have to go in one winter, stay there the balance of the winter and the following summer, and come back the following winter—but life is too short and I did not make the trip.

These maps (pointing to them) are all geologically coloured showing the different ages of the rocks. In this area, taking in Sudbury and Cobalt, we have these two great camps just on the edge of our settlements. Then some of these rocks run over into Minnesota and Michigan, which are largely responsible for making the United States one of the greatest iron and steel-producing countries of the world, and the State of Michigan, one of the greatest copper-producing countries in the world. Michigan and Minnesota turn out about 40 million ton of high grade ore per year—150,000,000 dollars worth or more, and it will increase.

Then if we consider the mineral wealth of the Rocky Mountains I might say that Mexico has about 1,750 miles of this same range which has produced $5,500,000,000 worth of precious metals, that is, gold and silver, or about $3,000,000 per mile in length; that the United States has 1,100 miles of these mountains compared with Mexico's 1,750 miles, which have produced about the same per mile in length; while we in Canada have 1,600 miles of these mountains, and can reasonably expect that the production will be relatively the same as in Mexico and the United States, for we have only developed the fringe of the Rockies along the border. I think there is no doubt we will have one of the greatest mineral countries in the world and, to-day, we have beyond doubt the greatest undeveloped mineral resources of any country in the world, and Canada offers the greatest inducements for capitalists and prospectors.

I would draw your attention to the fact that as Canada has the most ancient rocks of the continent—this is the first part of the earth's crust which came up from the upheaval of the ocean—it is not surprising to find some of its minerals unique; just as the fauna of Australia, representing a past age, are unique, with marsupials like the kangaroo, and creatures which are a cross between birds and mammals. In like manner, Canada's minerals are in many respects unique. For instance, we produce 80 per cent. of the world's consumption of asbestos—known as "mineral wool" in a small area in Quebec. This is used for different purposes, for theatre drop-curtains, firemen's clothing, fire-proof boards, etc. Then there is mica, sometimes called isinglass. We produce in Ontario and Quebec practically all the world uses of amber-coloured mica. There are other varieties found in India and a few other countries, but this amber-coloured variety, which is the best for electrical purposes, is much sought after and is practically all produced in Canada. We lead the world in these two minerals.

Then we have nickel, which is in great demand for making nickel-steel for armour-plate and other purposes. We produce 65 per cent. of the world's supply, having only one competitor, New Caledonia, a French penal colony in the southern Pacific. This colony used to produce more than Canada, but they are unable to keep up with us now. Then there is mineral-cobalt. Our Cobalt camp was named after the finding of this characteristic metal. It is very much like nickel—you could scarcely tell them apart. We have more of that in sight than any other country in the world at the present time; in fact, since Cobalt has become such a producer the mines at New Caledonia have had to close down, and the price has been reduced from $2.50 per pound to 75c. It is used for colouring glass and to make nickel look like silver. Both cobalt and nickel are magnetic, that is, they are attracted by the magnet-like iron. It is rather peculiar that the rocks up there and some in Minnesota contain the only three magnetic elements, cobalt, nickel and iron.

I was going to say a few words about mining booms and stock jobbing, but the time is slipping away. Well, I will just touch on the subject very briefly. I might say that technical men, mining men, and mineralogists always object to these booms, because the people get bitten and the industry gets blighted. For instance, after Cobalt was discovered in 1903, Toronto people having been pretty well singed in British Columbia mines, although we had as fine a collection of ore from the Cobalt district as one would wish to see, Toronto people were not interested. I had a fine collection at the King Edward Hotel myself, but you couldn't get a Toronto man to look at it scarcely. But the next year when the camp was paying handsomely, the people went to the other extreme, and now they have been bitten again, and are inclined to blame the mineral industry. But it is all caused by stock jobbing and bad advice.

If a man is physically ill he consults a physician—if he is spiritually ill he consults a spiritual adviser of one of the creeds. If he is in legal trouble he seeks advice from a graduate of a law school, but, if he contemplates going into the mining business (and this applies very specially to many of our business men) he takes advice from the first fakir he comes across who says he knows something about mines. Now if people would display the same discretion in this that they do in other matters the mineral industry would be on a much better plane, and it would be just as safe, and safer perhaps than many another business. Nine out of ten of the men who have written the most reports, and given the most advice, are the worst fakirs in Canada. Mining men know them.

Of course, they are not all like this, but in many cases the greatest fakirs we have here had a reputation before they came to these camps.

Now I might have said a little more about Sudbury ore. It contains nickel and copper. Ordinarily these metals are taken out by solution. The ore is smelted down and a precipitate formed. But a few years ago the Canadian Copper Co. found a method of getting rid of the slag which leaves the two metals together, making a splendid alloy known as Monal Metal. This is non-corrodible, contains 68 per cent. nickel and 32 per cent. copper, and can be produced much more cheaply than the old way. If the hope fulfills the promise now shown, it will mean a great extension of the nickel industry in Sudbury. Here is a sample of nickel we should make use of for coining nickel pieces—now I do not refer to the United States kind, which contains 75 per cent. copper and only 25 per cent. nickel, and which wears greasy. This is pure nickel. When the United States first commenced to produce nickel coins they could not stamp nickel—they had no machinery powerful enough. I notice that our Minister of Finance is a little doubtful as to whether nickel will be suitable for coinage, but I think he has in mind the United States kind. I think (turning to Mr. Clark) you should draw Mr. Fielding's attention to this. It could easily replace the 5-cent pieces we have in use at the present time, and would be far more satisfactory. The tensile strength of nickel-steel is about 25 per cent. greater than that of steel, and it does not corrode nearly so rapidly as ordinary steel. I hear they are going to use it in the Quebec Bridge.

I have referred to Cobalt in rather a general way; I might have said that one of the chief benefits of Cobalt to the country is that until this camp was discovered it was thought there were no precious metal camps east of the Rocky Mountains which amounted to much, and capitalists did not care to invest their money in stocks, but in my estimation we have to-day good chances of finding other and similar camps to Cobalt up in that northern region. I often wonder what the result would have been had Cobalt been discovered, say, during the French period. It would have changed the whole political complexion of the country—the French would have rushed in in great numbers, or the New Zealand settlers would have flocked there, and we would either have stayed French or the French race would have been dominant in that portion of the country. The silver would have been taken down the Ottawa River more easily than now, and they could have taken out $100,000,000 worth. It would have made a great change in conditions here. The Bureau of Mines sent a strong party up into that country four or five years ago; they made a careful examination for coal and did some drilling, but the conclusion I came to was that the coal there was useless except for local consumption of farmers. I may say there are no recent deposits, that is sand and gravel deposits; you will find 10 to 15 feet of clay over the coal, and it would cost more than the coal is worth to take it out from those narrow seams. Strictly speaking, we have no true coal in this part of the country, our rocks are too old. The rocks I speak of came up from the ocean at a very early period and apparently the coal rock was never deposited.

In moving a vote of thanks, Mr. J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., of London, said: I want in the first place to thank my friend, Mr. Clark, for having done me the kindness of inviting me here to-day, but I think it was rather an extensive kindness on his part and on the part of the chairman when I came into the room to ask me to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Miller for his address—probably the reason they did not give me longer notice was for fear that I would keep you too long. I have known Mr. Miller—as no doubt you all have—for years and have much pleasure, I am sure, in thanking him on your behalf for the very interesting and luminous address he has given. I am sure it will add greatly to the knowledge we already possess of the mineral resources of this great Dominion. It was said to me when I came in by one of your members, "If we had had as much confidence in Mr. Miller 5 years ago as we have now probably most of us would be a great deal better off."

There is only one thing which I think Mr. Miller neglected to state; he failed to say anything about the mines in which we can make the most money!

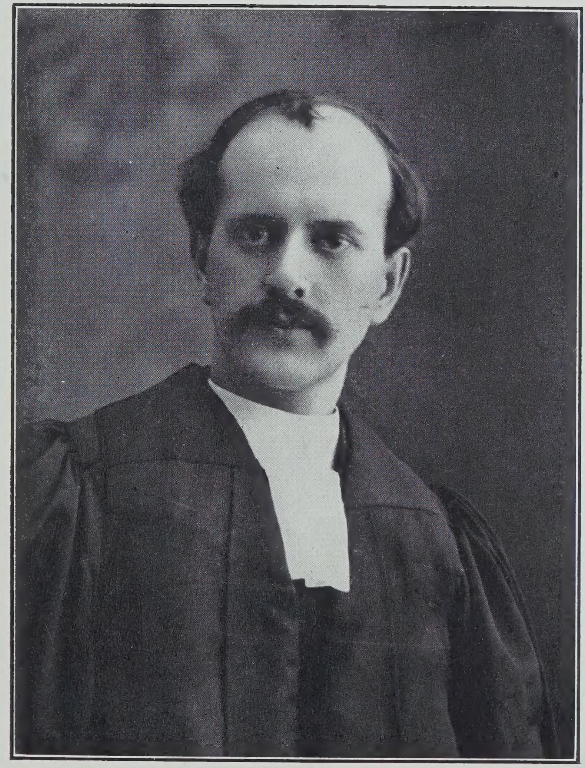
SIR WALTER SCOTT AS AN EMPIRE-BUILDER.

An Address by the REV. ALEXANDER MACMILLAN, of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 21, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

To determine the part played by certain men in the development of our Empire is comparatively easy. We are able to trace the course of the men of enterprise who long ago sailed across the seas to discover new lands; of the men of action who fought and prepared the way for construction; and the men who, in the Mother-land or lands beyond, framed and administered the laws. We may estimate also the value of the labours of humble men and women, who left the homeland to lay by toil and thrift the foundations of material prosperity. But it is by no means easy to trace and estimate the effect of the thoughts of great masters of literature upon the minds of lesser men. Nevertheless, the character of a people, scattered through many lands, is so largely determined by this that such eminent men are truly Empire builders. I therefore venture to offer for consideration the effect of the life and work of Walter Scott, as a great man of letters, upon the minds of men throughout the Empire.

The influence of Sir Walter Scott was in this respect largely indirect and unconscious, and he would probably have been greatly surprised had any one of his contemporaries designated him an Empire-builder. Singularly modest, even to the extent of self-depreciation, his estimate of the permanent value of his own work was far below the reality. Yet the impress of that work, the enthusiasm he aroused, the ideals he held before the eyes of men, the courage he infused, all passed into the life of the Empire. "His work," as Professor Grant, of Leeds, says, "is far better and greater and more important than he himself ever guessed."



The Reverend Alexander MacMillan.

The first and immediate effect of his life and work lay in this—he did much to unify Scotland. It is well known that, prior to the middle of the Eighteenth Century, Scotland was for the most part a country of two peoples. North of the "Highland line," the Celtic races lived their own life, while the Lowland people, a composite race with the Saxon element predominant, occupied the Lowlands and the eastern coast for some distance northward. Between these two places there was a wide gulf, with little of mutual understanding and scarcely any sense of kinship. One remembers in this connection the passage in *Rob Roy,* in which Sir Walter, describing the streets of Glasgow in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, tells of herds of wild, shaggy, dwarfish cattle being driven from the dusky mountains of the western highlands to the marts of St. Mungo by Highlanders as wild, shaggy and sometimes as dwarfish as themselves. He tells of the surprise with which strangers looked upon the antique and fantastic dress, and listened to the unknown and dissonant sounds of their language. In the passage referred to the utter diversity of race is vividly set forth.

After the fateful year 1746, when the hopes of Bonnie Prince Charlie were extinguished at Culloden, various influences were at work to bring the peoples into closer association, but much bitterness and misunderstanding persisted. It was, we are convinced, an important epoch for Scottish national life, when Walter Scott crossed the Highland line. He became enraptured by the grandeur of the Highland scenery, by the purple heather hills, the rush of water through the gorges, the brown heath and shaggy wood. He felt, too, the heroic valour and high-souled fidelity of its people. The results of these Highland influences were given to the world in *The Lady of the Lake,* and more powerfully continued in *Waverley, Rob Roy,* the *Fair Maid of Perth,* and the *Legend of Montrose.* It may be that only the Highlander can understand fully the Highlander, and that even Sir Walter may have missed certain subtle qualities that lie in the Highland nature, but in so far as land and people lay open to the Lowlander, Walter Scott realized and recorded. To the people of the Lowlands the Highland race and region became a new fact and factor in the national life. They learned to admire the splendid devotion of many of the Highland chieftains and their clansmen to the Stuart race—devotion misplaced, it may be, but deep and sincere. And when they read of the high-souled fidelity of Clansmen to the Chieftain; of Evan Maccombich who offered to die on the scaffold in place of his beloved Chieftain; of Torquil of the Oak who devoted all his sons to die in defence of the Chief: they learned to know the Highland spirit at its best.

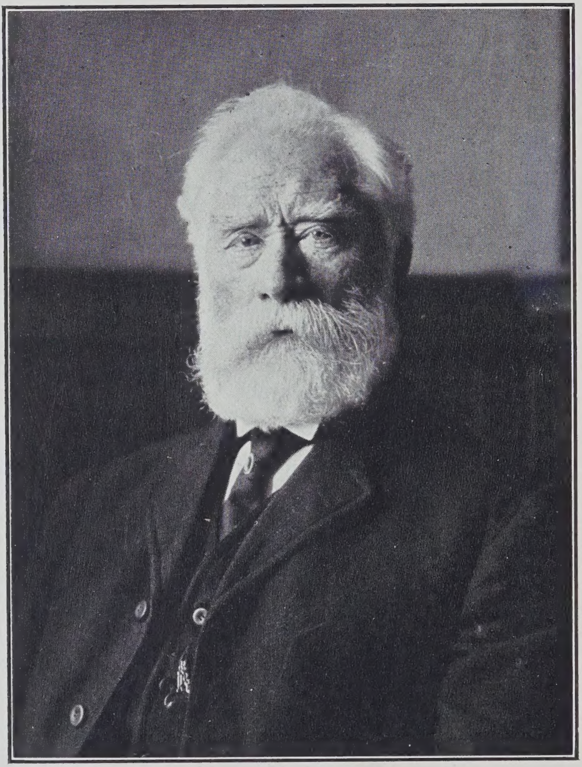
At last, and in part, at least, through this leavening, there emerged a Scottish nation, diverse in race, but one in spirit. Into this united people, Walter Scott did much to infuse a noble type of patriotism, a patriotism that seeks not its own. Through his influence the Lowlander glories not only in the south-land with its memories of Wallace and Bruce, Knox and the Reformers, but in the heather hills and glens. The Highlander, brought into association with the south, appropriated the best traditions of Lowlands and Highlands alike. It was with a deep sense of possession of all the land that Walter Scott penned from a full heart the impassioned lines:—

"O Caledonia, stern and wild.
Meet nurse for a poetic child!
Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood.
Land of my Sires! What mortal hand
Can e'er untie the filial band
That knits me to thy rugged strand?"

Now Scottish men and women, consciously or unconsciously affected by the pervasive influence of this mighty Scotsman, have crossed the seas to Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa and Canada. They have brought, if they be of the right stamp, the traditions of Scotland as an animating principle and are distinguished by love of country. One Scottish-born loves Scotland to the last, yet is not the less possessed by enthusiasm for the land of adoption. Walter Scott has done much for the lives of many who have done much in the life of Canada.

Sir Walter Scott has not only thus affected the national life of Scotland, he has also done much to draw the people of England and Scotland together. Time would fail to tell of the gradual process by which the once ancient enemies, the English and the Scots, gradually assumed toward each other the truly admirable relation of mutual trust and appreciation they exhibit to-day. When the union of the Crowns took place in 1603, there was much mutual jealousy and distrust, which was only in a measure moderated when the union of the Parliaments took place in 1707. Scott was jealous for the dignity and perpetuity of the Kingdom of Scotland. He exerted himself to preserve to Edinburgh the Scottish Regalia, and that ancient cannon, now over four centuries old, Mons Meg. They are to-day, largely through his exertions, in the Castle of Edinburgh—the Regalia in the Crown room and Mons Meg proudly set on the highest rampart of the Castle. Yet he delighted in England and the English. He wrote of gentle King Jamie in London, of the princely revels of Kenilworth, of Richard the Lion-hearted, and this won for Scotland the admiration and gratitude of England. He turned the eyes of the people of the south to the Scottish Hills, and taught the history of the nation, if not in scientific exactitude, surely in its inner spirit and meaning. To-day, there is not amalgamation of the two nations, but there is true brotherhood with mutual understanding and regard. Thus united the nation at home is strong, and has sent forth its sons and daughters to the Dominions beyond the Seas, to carry on the great work which has been initiated and developed at home.

But further, Walter Scott has given to the people of the Empire *pure* literature. It is needless to maintain the high gifts of this Wizard of the North. Tennyson declared him to be the author with the widest range since Shakespeare; Ruskin ranked him in power of imagination with Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare; and others of high rank in the realm of literature have vied with each other in paying tribute. The fact that his work is chiefly imaginative and that, to use a phrase of Robert Louis Stevenson, he is the King of Romancists, ensures a very wide circle of readers. In answer to a question as to the extent to which the Waverleys were being read, Dr. John Brown wrote to Ruskin that in 1873 one firm alone, that of Adam Black and his sons, had issued 250,000 copies of the Waverleys. To-day scarcely a great British Publisher neglects to issue editions. In so far as these works are read there is clear gain to our land. The greatness of an Empire must be founded on a people morally good and enlightening, and there is no question as to the moral quality of the writings of Walter Scott. With him there is no confusion of moral issues; the good is always the good and is lovely; the evil is always the evil and is hideous. There is in him, as Ruskin says, a virginal purity of thought. We may place with absolute confidence in the hands of our sons and daughters anything Walter Scott has written. The high qualities of courage, purity, fidelity, unstained honour and humility by which he was himself distinguished, shine upon his pages. To-day he touches the life of the Empire through his imperishable works, and is potent in the lives of many in guiding them toward the choice of the things which are true and honourable, just and pure, lovely and of good report.



Mr. William Houston, M.A.
Associate Editor of the Toronto *Globe*.

THE EVOLUTION OF A GREATER TORONTO.

An Address by MR. WILLIAM HOUSTON, M.A., Associate Editor of the Toronto *Globe,* before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 28th, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Speaking from an almost continuous residence in Toronto of about forty-five years, I propose to show by a series of comparisons how greatly the city has expanded in that time, and to indicate what the duty of its citizens is in view of the certainty that the expansion will be greater in the future than it has been in the past. Familiar as I had long been with the subject in a general way I was surprised at the statistics I have procured, and I believe they will prove equally startling to you.

Dealing first with the area of the city you will bear in mind that there have been several annexations of suburban territory. From 1837, when the city was incorporated, to 1883 when Yorkville village was annexed, its boundaries remained unchanged, and its area was about seven square miles. Its area is now thirty-two square miles; that is to say it is a city stretching ten miles from east to west and on the average a little more than three from north to south. In all probability North Toronto will shortly be added to Toronto, at least as far north as Eglinton Avenue. The population at the beginning of my period of residence was not more than 50,000; to-day the population is close to, if not quite, 400,000; so that we have multiplied our population by eight in a little more than forty years. A fair way to exhibit the rapidity of increase of population is to take the statistics of school attendance. In 1865 Toronto had 90 public school teachers; in the present year we have 901. In 1865 we had only one High School with a small staff of teachers; now we have it very much enlarged and six others of the same type, besides the Technical High

School; the high school teaching staff having at present about 120 members. In 1865 we paid in teachers' salaries $41,204; this year the estimated amount for salaries is $806,850 for public school teachers alone.

The general expenditure on the City services, exlusive of education, was $373,000 in 1868; it is estimated for this year at $6,874,800. The revenue from taxation alone in 1868 was $298,000, while for this year it is $4,651,000. Between 1865 and 1910 the mileage of streets has increased from 117 to 408. In 1865, four years after the street railway was started, there were only four miles of single-track, horse-car railway; now we have 407 miles of electric railway, necessitating the use of quite heavy rails, and 27 miles have been ordered to be added to their total. The expansion has been equally striking in steam railways that terminate in the city or pass through it. In 1865 we had only the Grand Trunk Railway, east and west, the Northern to Collingwood, and the Great Western branch to Hamilton. Now we have the Northern extended to North Bay, connecting there with the Temiskaming Railway; the Midland connecting with points north-eastward; the Grand Trunk extended to Chicago; the Canadian Pacific to Detroit, to Owen Sound, to Goderich, to Sudbury, to Lindsay, and to Ottawa and Montreal; and the Canadian Northern completed to Sudbury and under construction to Ottawa.

In view of the probability that in a quarter of a century Toronto will have at least twice the population she has to-day, the duty of her citizens is plain. In the matter of parks, we are still far behind where we should be. Many years ago McGill Square was offered to the city for $20,000, but the offer was refused and it was purchased as a site for the Metropolitan Church. When the late Mr. Howard offered 200 acres to the city on easy terms of payment—practically a gift—it was only after long discussion and much hesitation that the offer was accepted. It is now part of Howard Park. Prior to the acquisition of that great pleasure ground the city's only park was Queen's Park, which it has from the University of Toronto at a nominal rental and on easy conditions; yet the lease was forfeited for non-fulfilment of these conditions, and in order to secure the park again it had to pay $6,000 a year in perpetuity.

Looking to the future we should have a sea-wall drive at least fifteen miles long from the Humber River to the Scarboro' town-line, including the Island. We should have as its counterpart a boulevard from the mouth of the Humber, inland and around the city to the lake shore at Scarboro, at least twenty-five miles long, making a continuous drive, with electric car tracks of 40 miles. This would be accomplished at a comparatively small cost to the city if the property lying on each side of the boulevard were secured for the purpose of being resold at the highest price obtainable on account of the construction of the drive.

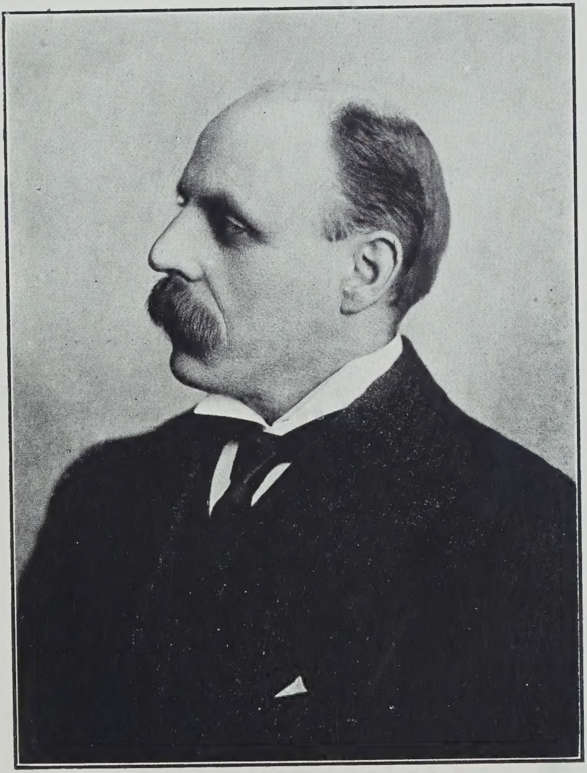
Authority should be vested in some corporate body to control the laying out of streets in new territory and to correct defects in their lay-out in the old area of the city. For example, Harbord Street, which must become a great thoroughfare, should be extended and widened, and this could be accomplished by buying property on each side to be resold at increased price. Similarly the great thoroughfare made up of Arthur St., St. Patrick St., Anderson St., and Wilton Ave., should be made wider. Across the Don a new street should be used to extend this thoroughfare to East Toronto. St. Clair Ave. and Bloor St. should be widened. Two diagonal streets, one north-easterly and the other north-westerly should be laid out, of ample width, so as to save distance in reaching the centre of the city from the outskirts. This would give from the centre five ideal lines:—Queen St. East, Queen St. West, Yonge St. North, and two diagonals.

THE LITERARY OUTLOOK IN THE EMPIRE.

Address by MR. ARTHUR SPURGOEN, General Manager of Cassels & Co., Ltd., London, England, President of the International Association of Journalists, and President of the London Publishers' Circle, before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 5, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

In rising to address you I am reminded of a story which was told in connection with a banquet at which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was the guest. The chairman at the close of the eating part of the proceedings turned to Mr. Chamberlain and said, "Will you speak now, Mr. Chamberlain, or shall I let them enjoy themselves a little longer?" I feel that a very great compliment has been paid me, gentlemen, by asking me to be your guest to-day. The feeling of gratification, however, is overshadowed by the very grave news which we have received from the Home-land the last few hours. I am sure the critical illness of His Majesty will send a shock through the whole Empire, because owing to the proper reticence of the newspapers there has been scarcely any allusion made to the illness of the King during the last few months; but those in the inner circle have known that the King's position was very critical, and that it only required an incident similar to that which has just occurred to bring on the gravest symptoms. We must remember that the King is now an old man, and though we can hardly realize it, if he had lived until November he would have been in his 70th year; but, apart from his age, the serious illness through which he passed some eight years ago did very much to impair his strength. We must still hope that he may be long spared to reign over us. I am sure this is the sincere prayer of every one of the members of the Empire Club.



Mr. Arthur Spurgeon.

President of the International Institute of Journalists, London.

During the last few days a remarkable speech has been given by His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada, as he was about to lay down the insignia of his office. It was not the speech of a young man who dreams, or of an old man who sees visions, but the words of a responsible statesman in the prime of life, who takes a wide outlook of things and men. You will remember he made the statement that "The time is coming when Canada will be the Heart, Soul and Rudder of the Empire." I am not quite clear as to the precise meaning of these words, but I am sure we all realize that His Excellency meant there was a wonderful future before this great country here and in the West. There is no doubt of this, gentlemen. You do not want a stranger to come and talk superlative sentences to you—you have a sufficiently good opinion of yourselves, I am quite sure. I find in this City of Toronto one of the most beautiful cities I have ever seen, a city in which its citizens are as enterprising as its women are beautiful, a city graced with silvery beauty and arboreal charm. One can judge the character of the people by the newspapers which are published here. I have no hesitation in saying you have in Toronto some of the finest newspapers published in the Empire—I do not know any city in the Empire with a similar population that has so many high-grade newspapers published daily as there are in the City of Toronto. Therefore, as you have these fine papers, and as newspapers represent the feelings of the community, Toronto must indeed be a very fine place to live in.

I remember being at the Imperial Press Dinner when Lord Rosebery delivered that memorable "Welcome Home" address which touched the hearts of everybody present, and I am sure will long be remembered by all those who read it throughout the Empire. At that great banquet, one of Canada's sons, Sir Hugh Graham, was chosen by his colleagues to be the mouth-piece for all the Canadian representatives at the Press Conference. There was no man who occupied a more important position or exercised more influence at that Congress than did one of your Toronto Editors, Mr. J. A. Macdonald. Well, I am glad to tell you, as President of the British International Association of Journalists, that I was charged by my colleagues before leaving England to convey to you their respectful felicitations on the progress made by the Press in Canada in recent years. I feel, gentlemen, that not only have you a great press in Toronto, but there is a patriotic glow which somehow touches an Englishman immediately he arrives here. There is a great deal of cant talked about patriotism. You may not believe in the sentiment of the old-time politicians, "My country right or wrong," but we certainly always believe in the sentiment, "My country, may it always be right."

A friend of mine cycled around the world a few years ago (took him two years to do it) and nothing gave him greater joy as he cycled from continent to continent, and country to country, than when he came across some rural place and saw the emblem of National Sovereignty —the Union Jack, and that is the way we all feel, I am sure, whether members of the Empire League in the Old Land, or the Empire Club of Canada on this side of the water. This flag is not simply a rag, but signifies our unity—"My England! My England!" One feels as soon as he arrives in this country as though he were almost in the centre of his own country, and there is a feeling of great, thrilling patriotism which passes through him.

Well, gentlemen, I should like to know exactly what you think of us. In your speeches you are very kind, in your newspapers very critical, but what is really behind the scenes in this great country concerning the future? I heard a story of an old lady who was very ill. She sent for a specialist, and being very anxious to know exactly what the sspecialist thought of her case, she arranged to have her sister secrete herself behind the screen in her dining-room when the specialist and family doctor came in to have the examination. The examination took place—here were the doctors, after it was all over, and there was the sister behind the screen in the dining-room. The family doctor looking at the specialist, said:

Well! what do you think of her? He replied: "She is about the ugliest person I ever say in my life."

Whereupon the family doctor replied: "Wait until you see the sister!"

There is a very old adage in England: "Put your ear to door or wall and you will hear no good at all." I believe it would do us all good, Canadians, publishers, and leading business men, represented here to-day, to know the seal sentiment concerning the duties to the Mother Country by this part of the Empire. It is a good many years since one of the Presidents of the United States said that politics were dominated by private avarice, and that the atmosphere was thick and fat. I sometimes wonder whether there is any great change since those words were uttered in 1835. Yet I believe, gentlemen, that although we live in this age of the "Almighty Dollar," and sometimes are accused of being too materialistic, and that we are more concerned with the things of this world—the things that are, than with things that are not—I believe that deep down in the hearts of the people there is a growing desire to bring more joy and happiness into the lives of their fellows.

I suppose men could rightly be divided into two classes—Hedonists, whose sole aim in life is to gratify their personal desires, and Altruists, who think and act for the good of others. Notwithstanding the fact that the Hedonist may make the greatest show, and perhaps gain wealth, John Ruskin was right when he said: "There is no wealth but Life—Life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others." That is the finest sentiment ever expressed in writing, and I believe mankind in civilized communities is acting upon it to a very large extent to-day. As the poet put it:

"I, Galahad, saw a Grail,
A Holy Grail descend upon the shrine,
And in the strength of that
I rode forth."

Gentlemen, these words, expressing as they do the source of real strength, came to me as I came into your city. There is a growing reason why we should realize we are our Brother's keeper. I had never heard of your novel method of advertising in such a way as to make men notice and assist in connection with a city organization. This present movement of the Y. M. C. A. strikes me as one of the most remarkable I ever witnessed. We have something to learn in the Old Country in advertising. When in the course of a few days $600,000 can be raised that is, indeed, a great success. It proves that men are thinking not alone of the "Almighty Dollar."

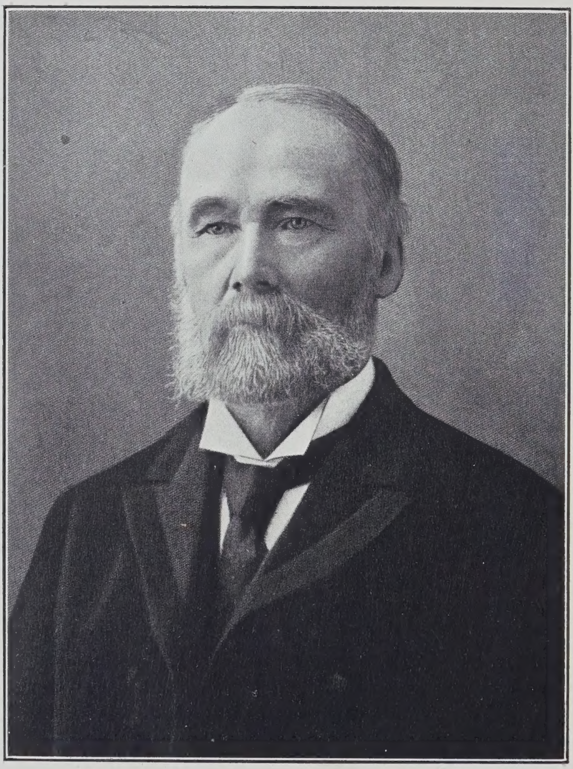
Was it not an eastern orator who said, "Sell wine and buy Lillies for souls have needs as well as bodies," and that brings me to ask what important part literature has played in national and local life. What is literature? What is it doing? We are told that a nation can be judged by the songs it sings and the books it reads, and I feel that standing here as a representative of a firm which for 60 years, in the heart of the City of London and under the shadow of St. Paul's, has been advertising cheap and good books; that I am entitled to say a word on behalf of good literature in its most strenuous form in the present day. Now what is Canada trying to do in regard to this great subject? I am not going to try and review the literature of the Empire in the short time at my disposal, but will say a few words on the subject of what part Canada is going to take in the literature of the empire. My honest impression is that you are simply on the verge of a wonderful and amazing development in regard to literature in this country. You have got the men and women, the material, the atmosphere and locale, for great and historical works and books. When

I say books I am referring to works of fiction for the moment. I believe that Canadian writers within the next few years will make such contributions to the literature of the Empire as to be the source of amazement to us all.

I do not know whether I am right or wrong, but it may be that the opinion held of some writers by their fellow-citizens may explain why Canadian writers have not come to the front sooner. A friend of mine last year was in the back-woods somewhere, and was asked by a man: "What do you do for a living?" to which he replied: "Write books." The man looked at him in amazement and said, "Well, but what do you do seriously?" and he replied: "Write books." Thinking my friend must be in a very bad way, he asked him to go to the prayer meeting with him, and he very kindly prayed for him, and told the Lord that "his friend here had brains of a sort, but would He teach him to do something serious in life." I think this is the opinion of some people, and judging by some books perhaps they are not far wrong. These are some extraordinary things published, and one has sympathy with the editor who received a poem entitled, "Why do I live?" The editor wrote back, "Because you sent it by post instead of bringing it."

Now there is a great deal published, of course, that is far beneath the standard with us, and I own up to it. No longer do we live in the golden age of the literary geniuses of the Victorian era—they have passed away, and we have no men of their standard among us, tho' we still have some wonderful writers in England and some in this country. I do not know a writer whose books are more popular than Ralph Connor's, and it is a great tribute to his genius, that, residing in Winnipeg, his books are as popular in England as they are in Canada. I don't know whether you have all read Miss Montgomery's book, *Anne of the Green Gables,* but I think this is one of the most interesting books published in Canada, and I am sure that the writer, who lives in Prince Edward Island, is going to be one of the peers of literature in days to come. I don't know whether you claim Sir Gilbert Parker now as a Canadian writer. He holds a conspicuous place in politics as well as in the field of literature and, if certain changes take place in the Government, he will likely take a still higher place. There are other men of renown like Dr. Drummond and writers of national history and poetry.

Too much credit cannot be given the Canadian soldiers who came to the support of the Mother Land in the time of her need. It will make a bright page in history for all time to come; it has done more to bring Canada and Great Britain closer together than perhaps we realize. It is not forgotten on the other side of the water. In England the people are writing and talking about Canada continually. There is much to make a publisher like myself enjoy in this, for the more that is read about Canada the more people will come here, and the more books we will sell. Some few years ago when we (Cassells & Co.) decided to open a Canadian branch, people laughed, but they don't laugh at us to-day. As you are interested in different walks of life, I am primarily interested in Learning, which I feel is going to be increasingly in demand, and will be one of the greatest things in the future. Now I have spoken 21 minutes by the clock, and I wish to thank you for your kind reception. I will always cherish the memory of May sixth nineteen hundred and ten, when I was the honoured guest of the Empire Club of Canada, in the City of Toronto.



THE HON. SIR GEORGE W. ROSS, LL.D.
Senator of Canada.

THE PLACE OF THE KING IN THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

Address by the Hon. Sir George W. Ross, LL.D., Senator of Canada, before the Empire Club of Canada, on May 23rd, 1910.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to be present to-night, as I deem it a privilege to be permitted to address the Empire Club. Although I do not appear as frequently as usual on a public platform since my appointment to the Senate, my heart is still with Canada and the Empire, and for the little while that my voice can be heard I hope to keep these two topics somewhat prominently before my fellow-citizens. I have taken up (at the suggestion of Mr. Hopkins upon whom I will lay the blame for any failure in my address) as a subject for this evening: "The Place of the King in the British Constitution."

We have only one person having supreme authority over the British Empire, and it is well for us to know what place he occupies under the constitution, how he receives his authority, and upon what conditions he holds his high position as King of Great Britain and Ireland and the Dominions beyond the Seas. I have stated that the King is the only person in the British Empire whose authority is supreme. While this is theoretically true, and while perhaps it was practically true in the case of the Norman Kings, yet under our system of Parliamentary government which originated under Edward I (1295), the power of the King has been subject to certain limitations which every constitutional monarch is bound to observe. Notably the King has no power to levy taxes or to impose any burdens upon the people without the consent of Parliament, and it was because of his violation of this principle, among other things, that

Charles I precipitated the crisis which led to his overthrow and execution. But while this limitation is accepted by the monarch and controls in practice his authority, theoretically his supreme power still remains. This view is very clearly expressed in Bagehot's admirable work on the British constitution in which he says: "The Queen could disband the army, could dismiss all the officers from the General downward, dismiss all the sailors, sell all the ships of war and naval stores, could make peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, Nova Scotia, or any other Province, could declare war with closest friends and make every citizen, male or female, sit in parliament, could dismiss most of the civil servants, and pardon all offenders, and by disbanding her forces could leave our shores defenceless against foreign nations."

We now happily enjoy a constitution in which the abstract has become obsolete, and the more modern and the more practical elements of government prevail. Under the theory of the British constitution the King is an hereditary monarch, but this also is a theory, as purely hereditary claims do not give him an indefeasible right to the Crown. May in his *Constitutional History* says: "The power of Parliament over the Crown is distinctly affirmed by statute law and recognized as an important principle of the constitution." This power is exercised not only in the way already indicated as to the granting of supplies, but also in controlling the right of succession to the Crown. For instance, in 1688, the Stuart Dynasty was deposed and William and Mary declared by Parliament to be the rightful heirs to the British Crown, although not strictly in the line of hereditary succession. So it may be truly said that British monarchs are the choice of the people through their representatives in Parliament just as much as if they were directly elected by popular vote. The acquiescence in their succession in our day is merely an affirmation of the principle of the Revolution of 1688.

But the right of succession has still another limitation. The great religious movement known as the Reformation, followed by the quarrel of King Henry VIII with the Pope, introduced Protestantism into the British Islands during his reign, but more particularly under his resolute daughter, Queen Elizabeth, Protestantism in the form recognized as the Church of England, became the established religion of the realm, and although divided in its modes of worship between the class known as Puritans and Anglicans, there was no difference of opinion among Protestants as to the necessity of restraining the aggressiveness of the Roman Catholic Church or the Papacy as it was then called. Many of the troubles that existed under the Stuart Dynasty were owing to the real or assumed partiality towards the Roman Catholic religion of the last two of the Stuart kings. As William and Mary had no direct heirs, Parliament under the Act of Settlement declared that the right to the British Crown should only pass to those heirs of the reigning monarch who were Protestants and in communion with the Church of England. Moreover, it declared that should the King marry a Roman Catholic or become a Roman Catholic himself, his right to the Crown should be forfeited. This precaution to maintain the line of Protestant succession was an expression of the public opinion of the age. Even in the reign of the Stuarts the King was required to express his abhorrance of the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines, but to a Stuart an obligation of this kind was not considered very binding. This Declaration which every King and Queen has taken since the days of Charles II is as follows:—

I, Edward, do solemnly and sincerely and in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do believe that in the sacrament of our Lord's Supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint or the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous, and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and delare that I make this Declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever and without any dispensation already granted to me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever and without any hope of any such dispen-

sation from any person whatsoever, and without thinking I am or can be acquitted before God or man o any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

It is worthy to note that members of Parliament were also required to make a similar Declaration for many years when sworn before the Speaker of the House. It is well known that His late Majesty objected to this declaration as being an unworthy censure on a large class of his loyal subjects, and before his Coronation an effort was made to relieve him from making it. Since the accession of His present Majesty the agitation for relief has been revived, and I sincerely trust will be successful. Roman Catholicism has not, in modern times at least, in the British Empire exhibited any qualities which would justify reflecting upon its doctrines in the terms contained in this Declaration, and Protestantism, as I understand it, is too broad and tolerant to base its recognition by the state upon reflections on any other form of religion.

The King being the supreme authority in the realm, it necessarily follows that the King never dies, hence the practical unity of the expression. "The King is dead, long live the King." The death of the King in constitutional usage is simply the demise or the transfer of the Crown to the next heir, a transfer which takes place immediately on the decease of the reigning monarch, or at least as soon as his hereditary successor is sworn in. You will therefore have seen that a British King as a constitutional ruler must be of the Protestant faith according to the communion of the Established Church and whose successor attains the throne upon conditions regulated by Parliament.

We will now proceed to consider some of the prerogatives of the King. First, let me mention that he is the head of the Imperial Parliament, and as such one of the three estates of the realm. All legislation is enacted in his name and every statute of the Imperial Parliament runs in this wise: "The King, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, temporal and spiritual, and the House of Commons, enacts as follows." He is also the head of the Parliament of Canada, and our statutes run: "The King, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Commons, enacts as follows." Similarly in all Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces of Canada with the exception of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The preamble to every statute of Canada recognizes the King as the source of authority. It is worth while here to notice the significance of the statement that the King acts "by and with the advice and consent of, etc." That means that in legislation the King acts openly by the authority of Parliament, that in all matters pertaining to the Government of the Empire he takes the "advice" of Parliament, and that in addition to its advice he has the "consent" of Parliament to declare what laws are binding upon the people of whom he is the supreme head.

Under such a form of government no Star Chamber could exist, and no ordinances could be issued by the King himself which would carry with them any more authority in law than the dictum of any private citizen. It is true that the Executive Government has the power to issue what is called Orders-in-Council, which are as binding as an Act of Parliament, providing Parliament has given authority to the Executive Government to make such Orders. These are signed by the King on the advice of his Government, then attested by the signature of some responsible Minister. The signature of the King alone to an Order-in-Council would not render it operative unless the recommendation on which it was based was signed by one of his Ministers. As in his assent to Acts of Parliament when approved by both Houses is an evidence that they are the will of the people, so his assent to Orders-in-Council when recommended by his Cabinet and signed by a Minister still shows that he is under the control and direction of Parliament, and that as a King he can do no wrong, for his acts are the acts of his Ministers for which they alone are responsible.

Another prerogative of the King is that no meeting of Parliament can be held without his authority. Every writ calling for the assembly of Parliament runs in the

King's name, as for instance, "George V, by the Grace of God, etc., to our beloved and faithful Senators of the Dominion of Canada and members elected to serve in the House of Commons, greetings;" then follows the proclamation mentioning the time at which Parliament is to assemble. Then as a reiteration of his authority as the head of Parliament the King delivers what is called his Speech, containing reasons for calling upon the members of Parliament to meet and legislate for the good of the realm. Until this Speech is delivered Parliament is not supposed to transact any business. The King must be present that Parliament might know why it has been called.

But while Parliament recognizes the King's precedence by regarding the Speech from the Throne as the first order of business, it asserts its independence of the Royal authority in calling it together, by transacting some informal business before proceeding to the consideration of the Speech from the Throne. That is to say, Parliament may say that while it is important to consider the business to which His Majesty has called attention, it is more important to take up other business which may have been omitted from the Speech and which His Majesty might not perhaps desire Parliament to consider. Even the imperious Charles I could not stifle the independence of Parliament, although he might dispense with its advice for several years at a time. Under our present constitution, however, there is no danger that Parliament will be ignored either by the King or by his representative in Canada, the Governor-General, inasmuch as supplies are only voted for one year, and a Government with a civil service looking into an empty treasury, and postal and other public services for which there was no money, would be driven by the very stress of its financial embarrassments to ask Parliament for the usual supply. In the administration of a Government as well as in the commerce of the country an empty treasury exercises an unmistakable influence.

By a curious usage of the constitution the King is the only citizen of the British realm who is prevented from entering either House of Parliament. I think the last time a British monarch entered the House of Commons was when Charles the First, with some of his officers, attempted to arrest five members of the House who had offended him, and on finding that the offending members were not present he demanded of the Speaker to know where they were, to which the Speaker replied (thus showing that he did not regard the King as having any authority in the House) "I have no eyes to see nor tongue to speak except as the House directs me." "Well," said the King, "since I see all the birds are flown I do expect, as soon as they return, you to send them to me"—whereupon the King left the House, some members as he went calling out "Privilege, Privilege," meaning that the King had acted contrary to the privileges of the House.

The restriction imposed upon the King as to entering the House while Parliament is in Session applies to the Governor-General of Canada and the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces. The principle underlying this restriction is that the Parliament must be perfectly free to legislate for the people without any suspicion that his presence would unduly influence the people's representatives in their deliberations. The supplies voted by Parliament are theoretically supplies voted to the King for the maintenance of the army and navy and the necessary expenses of the King's Government. From this it follows that the King's signature (the same applies to the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces) is necessary before the monies voted by Parliament can be applied, and in this respect the King is bound by the Parliamentary rule that monies ordered by Parliament to be applied to any specific purpose cannot be ordered by him to be applied to any other purpose. It sometimes happens, however, that emergencies arise in which the supplies voted for some specific purpose or purposes were insufficient. In that case the King is empowered by Act of Parliament to draw upon the treasury by Order-in-Council on the understanding that such expenditure will afterwards be submitted to Parliament at its next meeting for approval.

The next prerogative of the King is, that he alone can dissolve Parliament, and it would appear that he has authority to do so without the advice of his Ministers. George III dismissed the Coalition Government of 1784 and 1807, and William IV dismissed Lord Melbourne in 1834. In the first two cases the action of the King was confirmed by the nation in the general election which followed. In the case of Lord Melbourne the action of the King was reversed and Lord Melbourne and his Government were recalled. In both cases the action of the King was considered arbitrary. They both, however, illustrate the sovereignty of the people and their constitutional right to govern through Ministers possessing their confidence.

In Canada no Ministry has been dismissed by the Governor-General since Confederation, but several cases have arisen in which a Lieutenant-Governor dismissed his Ministers and appealed to the electors for confirmation of his action. In March, 1878, His Honour Luc Letellier de St. Just dismissed his Ministers and called upon Henri G. Joly to form a new Government. M. Joly accepted the task, appealed to the country and was sustained by a small majority. In the course of eighteen months this majority vanished and M. Joly asked for another dissolution of the Assembly but was refused and he accordingly resigned. M. Letellier's action in dismissing Ministers that had a working majority was severely criticized by the supporters of the dismissed Ministers, and Sir John Macdonald, then Premier of Canada, took the view that as the electors did not support the new Ministers in sufficient numbers to give them a working majority, that Letellier's usefulness as Lieutenant-Governor was gone and he was accordingly dismissed. In 1900 the Hon. Mr. McInnes, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, dismissed his Ministers and called upon the Honourable Joseph Martin to form a new Government. Mr. Martin appealed to the country and was defeated. Mr. McInnes expected that the country would sustain the dismissal of his former advisers, but as he failed in obtaining the support of the electorate he was himself dismissed and a new Lieutenant-Governor appointed in his place. The constitutional practice seems to be that where the head of the Executive Government dismisses his advisers and fails to be supported by the electors that his immediate retirement from office is necessary in order to maintain harmony afterwards in the administration of the Government. In the case of the King, the only amends practicable is the restoration of the Ministers possessing the confidence of the country.

The next prerogative of the King is his right of veto on all legislation passed by the other estates of the realm. The President of the United States has a similar right over the legislation of Congress, but may be over-ruled by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses. The King's veto, however, cannot be over-ruled, but out of deference to the authority of Parliament this right has been held in abeyance for over two hundred years and has not been exercised by any British monarch since the reign of Queen Anne. Only one Act of the Parliament of Canada has so far received the Royal veto. This was an Act reducing the salary of the Governor-General from $50,000 to $32,000. The British Government held, rightly, that so long as Canada was under the Crown the office of Governor-General should be maintained with proper dignity. The right of veto or disallowance of Provincial legislation is exercised by the Governor-General on the advice of the Minister of Justice. In all, eight Bills passed by the Ontario Legislature have been disallowed. The principle governing disallowance of Provincial legislation is set forth in a memorandum of the Deputy Minister of Justice on page 532 of "Parliamentary Government in the Colonies," by Alpheus Todd, (2nd Edition).

Another prerogative of the King is the nomination of some person to select the various Ministers and other officers required for the services of the state. The person so nominated by the King is called the First or Prime Minister. Before the Revolution the King nominated all the Ministers of State, at the same time designating some Minister as head of the Government. The King nevertheless exercises the privilege of objecting to any person proposed as a new Minister as not *persona grata* and, usually, such objection prevails. King George III had contracted a strong dislike to Charles James Fox, and for a long time declined to accept him as a Minister. The late Queen also objected to Sir Charles Dilke, it was said on moral grounds, and notwithstanding his great ability, he has never been admitted to the Cabinet.

In the choice of a Prime Minister the King is not necessarily confined to Members of a House of Lords or the House of Commons, although I am not aware of an instance in which the King has gone outside of either of these bodies in the selection of his Prime Ministers. A similar practice prevails with regard to the selection of First Minister in the Dominion and in the Provincial Assemblies, although not invariably followed. Mr. Oliver Mowat was selected to form a Government in 1872 on the retirement of Mr. Blake, although he was not a member of the Legislative Assembly. But while the choice of the King is limited by usage and practically by the necessities of the case, the Prime Minister in forming his Cabinet has a greater range of action, and it not infrequently happens that a Prime Minister calls to his Council men occupying public positions who do not hold a seat in the Parliament of which he is leader. In 1896 Sir Wilfrid Laurier called to his Cabinet no less than five persons who had no seat in the House of Commons at the time. These were the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Sir Louis Davies, Hon. Clifford Sifton, Sir Oliver Mowat and Hon. A. G. Blair.

The Prime Minister and certain of his colleagues holding the most important offices in the state, constitute the Cabinet, and are called Privy Councillors and are entitled to be addressed as the Right Honourable. The British Cabinet usually consists of from eighteen to twenty members and the Administration of from forty to fifty in addition, all of whom retire with the Cabinet in the event of its resignation. In Canada the Cabinet consists of fifteen members having the rank of Ministers and are called the King's Privy Councillors. Following an old practice the King has the right to enroll as Privy Councillors distinguished publicists who are neither members of the Cabinet nor of the Administration. That honour has been conferred upon a small number of Canadians, including Lord Strathcona, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, and Sir Elzear Taschereau. A Privy Councillor, like a Peer, has the right to be admitted to the presence of the King to tender his personal advice on matters of state, but the right is seldom exercised.

Meetings of the Cabinet are both private and secret. They are private inasmuch as no person is present at such meetings excepting members of the Cabinet alone. Formerly the King presided at meetings of the Cabinet but since the reign of George I that practice has been discontinued. George I had no knowledge of the English language, and so he absented himself for a very good reason as he could not understand the discussions, and his successors have not exercised the privilege, which I assume it would be quite constitutional to do. A meeting of the Cabinet may be held anywhere, either in the Capital or in any other place within the realm. I said a moment ago that Cabinet meetings were secret. Ministers are sworn not to divulge the business of the Cabinet to any person, and this privilege applies to a Minister even before Courts of Justice should any transaction of the Cabinet be called in question. A Minister may refer to proceedings of the Cabinet in Parliament—the consent of the King having been first obtained. The decisions of the Cabinet when signed by the King are called Orders-in-Council and are as binding as an Act of Parliament, providing they do not exceed the power conferred upon the Cabinet by Parliament.

Another prerogative of the King is the right to declare war and make treaties with foreign countries. All treaties are made in the name of the King—of course, with the advice of his Councillors. William III claimed the right of making treaties without advice, as he insisted upon being his own Foreign Minister. Treaties made by the Government are binding upon the nation without reference to Parliament unless they involve some change in commercial relations which effect the customs duties enacted by Parliament. A similar rule prevails in Canada. The practice is, however, in my opinion very objectionable because Treaties sometimes impose the most serious obligations upon the country and are not entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law. The American system of submitting treaties to the Senate of the United States for ratification, or if of a commercial character then to both Houses, is much to be preferred even though in some cases it involves delays that may be inconvenient. Government by the people followed to its legitimate conclusion involves the control by the people through their representatives of every important matter affecting their interests. I should gladly see a change made in the practice now prevailing in the Parliament of Canada.

The King has a right to peruse all despatches and correspondence affecting his relations with foreign countries. He considers himself, under the constitution, to be specially responsible for maintaining peaceable relations between the Empire and sister nations, and as it is his prerogative to declare war it is necessary that negotiations or diplomatic interviews which may lead to war should be reviewed by him. It will be remembered that in 1851 Lord Palmerston expressed an opinion with regard to the *coup d'etat* by which Napoleon III became Emperor of the French. The correspondence in question was not referred to Her Majesty, and as a consequence Lord Palmerston was dismissed from his post of Foreign Secretary and strict orders were given by Her Majesty that such an offence should not be repeated. It will also be remembered when despatches of a somewhat irritating character passed between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain with regard to the celebrated Trent affair that Her Majesty revised the despatch which Lord John Russell proposed to send to the Government of the United States, and suggested certain modifications in the language used by Lord John Russell, which enabled the Government of the United

States to recede from the position it had taken in this matter without loss of dignity. Had it not been for Her Majesty's action in all probability war against the United States would have been declared. It is said that a British monarch reigns but does not rule. In this case the monarch ruled, greatly to the interest both of Britain and the United States. As an evidence of the feeling to be overcome, it is said that when Lord Palmerston entered the council at which this despatch was first considered, he remarked to his colleagues as he threw his hat on the table: "You may stand the attitude of the United States but I'll be damned if I will."

The King is also the head of the Army and Navy and Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces of the nation. In the days of the Plantagenets the King usually led his forces on the field of battle. The last King to fight the battles of his country personally was George II, at Dettingen. But while Kings do not now camp with the armies on the field of battle, their interest in the defensive forces of the country does not appear to have abated. Her late Majesty invariably attended all great military and naval reviews, and as an evidence of her love for her Army she ordered that her funeral should be conducted with military honours and so her body was borne to its last resting place like that of a common soldier on a gun carriage, as was the body of His late Majesty King Edward VII.

The King is the fountain of honour. Peerages, Knighthoods and ecclesiastical titles of the rank of Bishop and upwards are conferred with his approval. Nominations to the Bench are made by the Lord Chancellor with the approval of the King and without reference to his Cabinet. Bishops and Archbishops are appointed in a similar way on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The King is the head of the Episcopal Church in England and bears the title of "Defender of the Faith." At his Coronation he also swears to "maintain the true profession of the Gospel and the Presbyterian Reformed Religion established by law." By the Union Act with Scotland (1707) the King is also required to swear to maintain the Presbyterian Church in Scotland as established by law.

It is interesting to recall how the title "Defender of the Faith" first came to be used by the King of England. When the Reformation movement took hold of Germany Henry VIII evidently foresaw that if it succeeded the Pope would no longer be head of the Church, and in his zeal for Roman Catholicism he wrote a pamphlet defending the position of the Pope and his right in perpetuity to the headship of the Church. Pope Clement was so pleased with Henry's defense of his position that he styled him "Defender of the Faith." Later the King became enamoured of Anne Boleyn and in order to marry her sent Cardinal Wolsey to Rome to secure the Pope's consent to a divorce from Catharine. This Pope Clement refused. As a consequence Henry rebelled against papal authority in England and secured a revision of the Ritual then in use, established a form of Protestantism and assumed for himself the headship of the new Church, retaining still the title of "Defender of the Faith"—a title which his successors have retained down to the present day. As the head of the Church of England the consent of the King and also of Parliament must be obtained to any revision of the Litany of the Church and Book of Common Prayer, and no assembly of the Bishops in Convocation can be held without the consent of the King. In the self-governing Colonies, however, the Church of England has the same liberty in regard to its services and the appointment of ecclesiastics as any other Protestant Church.

As the head of the Church the King is also invested with the monopoly of printing the authorized version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. That is, the copyright of the Bible is vested in the King and an authorized version thereof cannot be printed or published without his license. Licenses are now granted in his name to the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses and to certain societies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society. For the safety of Protestantism and the realm it was held by Parliament down to a recent date that no person could be trusted to hold any office either in a municipal corporation or in the Civil Service or in the Army and Navy, unless he was a communicant of the Church of England. Section 12 of the Corporation Act required all persons elected or chosen to any of the offices or places named in the Act, such as Mayor, Recorder, Town Clerk, Magistrate, etc., to have taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England within one year prior to such election, and under the Test Act (1672) all persons, peers and commoners, holding civil or military office, or receiving pay from His Majesty, or holding command or places of trust under His Majesty, were required to take certain oaths and also to take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England in some parish church upon some Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, immediately after divine service and sermon. By these two Acts known as the Corporation and Test Acts all Non-conformists and Dissenters were excluded from Municipal and Judicial offices and also from Parliament. The Acts applied with particular severity to Roman Catholics and for over one hundred years an agitation was continued to secure their repeal. But religious prejudices die hard, and it was not until 1829, when the agitation became so strong as even to alarm the Duke of Wellington, that the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed relieving Roman Catholics and Dissenters from the disability under which they laboured. But the Emancipation Act did not quite clear the atmosphere. A Quaker could not sit in Parliament because he was required to take an oath, rather than to affirm, as the tenets of his religion were opposed to taking an oath. This disability was removed in 1833. The Jew could not enter Parliament because he was required to swear allegiance "on the true faith of a Christian." This disability was also removed in 1858. In 1866 an Act was passed prescribing one oath for members of Parliament in lieu of the several oaths required to be taken previous to that time, and which does not raise any question about religious scruples. It is interesting to note in this connection that since the Quebec Act of 1774 was passed, Roman Catholics in Canada were not required to subscribe to the Test and Corporation Oaths as in England, and were therefore not debarred, as in England, from sitting in the Parliament or from occupying any municipal or judicial office in the gift of the Crown.

Similar disabilities, at one time, as to religious obligations attached to matriculation into the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Every student before being enrolled was requested to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. The consequence of it was that for many years Dissenters were excluded from the advantages of a University education. This restriction was afterwards modified permitting Dissenters to pursue their studies at Oxford or Cambridge, but without the right to a degree unless they had subscribed, at the close of their examination, as formerly in the case of matriculants. In 1871 all tests for admission to the Universities were abolished except in the case of those who were proceeding to Holy Orders. A remnant of this disability attached for many years to King's College, Toronto, before it assumed the name of the University of Toronto, and students not members of the Episcopal Church had to obtain a special permit to attend what is now the University of Toronto before being admitted to its lectures.

As the King is the head of the Courts of Justice the verdict of a jury in criminal matters can only be set aside by the King. He alone has the right of pardon either in the case of capital punishment or minor offences of a criminal character. That right in England he exercises on the advice of the Home Secretary, and in Ireland on the advice of the Lord-Lieutenant. The Governor-General, as his representative, on the advice of Council exercises a similar power, and the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces with regard to statutes within the right of the Province. As the King is the head of the Criminal Courts he is therefore not amenable to the Court for any offence. In theory he is the Court itself and so the King can neither try himself for an offence nor pass any sentence, which would be binding, upon him.

The King is in theory the owner of every acre of land over which a British flag floats except such lands as he has surrendered by deed or lease. You are quite familiar with the term "Crown Lands." That simply means the King's lands, and every patent to a portion of such lands means the surrender by the King of his right and interest therein. He is also the owner of the beds of all tidal rivers in Great Britain, and proprietor of all of that part of the shore surrounding the coasts which lies between high and low water mark. Any new land discovered by any of his subjects becomes his. If an island were to arise within three miles of the British coast it would immediately become the property of the King. The sturgeon and the whale are popularly known as Royal fish. When they are cast upon the coast of England the sturgeon's body becomes the property of the King, while the whale is divided between the King and the Queen, the former taking the head and the latter the tail.

I have not quite exhausted all the prerogatives of Royalty known to the British Constitution, but I hope I have said enough to render tolerably clear what are the chief functions of Royalty in a political sense. Directly, the King does not appear to possess much power in legislation or in the government, and yet it is well known that Her late Majesty exercised great influence over her Cabinet and did much to shape its policy. She possessed during her whole reign, in a marvellous degree, the confidence of her Ministers, and although she did not appear as a great force in the political movements of the times, it was well known that her advice was sought, not simply because she was Queen and in authority, but because of her intense interest in every public question that came before Parliament, and because of her sagacity in suggesting how it might best be disposed of.

His late Majesty was also a great force in the politics of the Empire. He will go down to history as "Edward the Peace-maker," because of his wonderful powers of conciliation and for the friendly relations which he maintained with all the nations of Europe. Gabriel Hanotaux, who was French Minister of Foreign Affairs from

1894 to 1898, said of him: "It was King Edward who thawed the frozen heart of Old England. He broke the ice in political customs. When he became King he asked England to descend from the pinnacle on which she was placed and persuaded her to enter into relations with the rest of the world in obedience to the example set by his own accessible and human character." But apart altogether from his constitutional functions the King exercises an enormous social influence. It is well known that Her late Majesty purged the Royal Court of the malodorous associations by which it was discredited during the reign of her two predecessors, but more particularly during the reign of George IV. The scrutiny of the character of all persons who wish to approach His Majesty at any Court function is a deterrent against misdoings by those whose social status gives them a claim upon such privilege. Moreover, as Royalty is, and has been for the last half century, most active in promoting charities of all kinds, in giving its imprimatur to art and science and public enterprises, it has become a stimulus to the social advancement of the world and particularly to the Empire, and men of distinction and wealth have been stimulated to serve their country because of the generous services of Royalty in moral and social reform.

And now, what does it matter whether the King reigns or rules so long as he maintains the dignity of his position and performs his duties in the interest of the Empire. Great Kings and Queens have enhanced the power and influence of the British Empire in all ages of its history, and we need have no fear that His Majesty King George V will tarnish the honour of the Crown or be unfaithful to any of its responsibilities. The Empire has already passed through many a crisis. At present great questions are pressing for settlement which may affect its stability and its influence. But let us not be afraid. British Statesmen have so far been equal to every emergency, and if the movements at first appear to be a disturbing influence, they may finally resolve themselves into elements of strength. Of its future no Canadian need have any doubt. A glorious Empire:

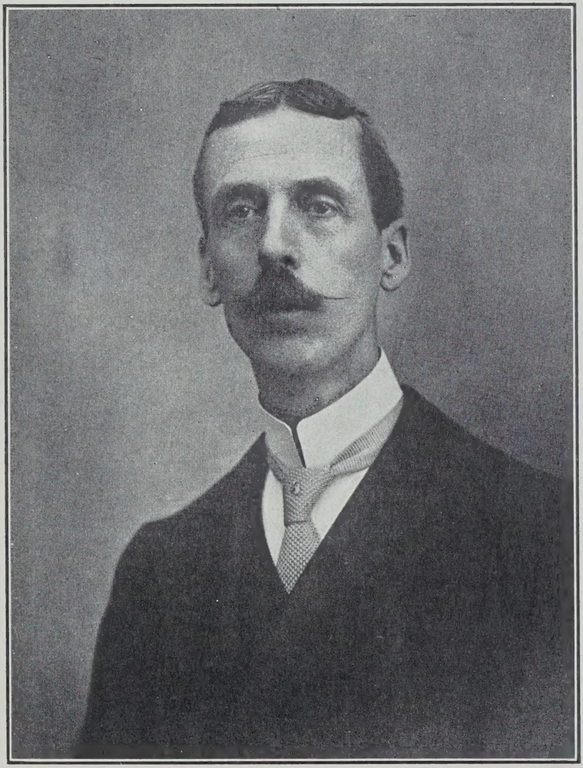
> "Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
> Prone from the vale and midway cleaves the storm,
> Though round its base the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

ASHBURTON TREATY AND PRIOR NEGOTIATIONS.

Address by MR. JAMES WHITE, Chief Geographer of Canada, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada.

In considering any portion of the boundaries of Canada between the Atlantic and the Pacific, it is necessary to, first, consider what I have elsewhere called the great date-line in Canada's territorial history, namely, The Treaty of Paris, 1783, or, more correctly, the preliminary Treaty of Peace signed in November, 1782. The negotiations for this treaty were conducted on behalf of Great Britain by Richard Oswald, assisted, later, by Henry Strachey and, on behalf of the Thirteen Colonies, by Franklin, Jay and Adams. Lord Shelburne has been severely criticised for entrusting the negotiations to Oswald, who is described by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Shelburne's biographer, as follows:—"Nobody could, in any case, have been more unfit both by character and habits for engaging in a diplomatic intrigue than Oswald, whose simplicity of mind and straightforwardness of character struck all who knew him."

The question that one naturally asks is:—Why was this simple-minded person selected to carry on negotiations with not one but three of the ablest men that the revolting Colonies could produce? To answer this question involves a study of the conditions existing at the commencement of the negotiations, Shelburne's character and record and Oswald's instructions. Summing them up briefly, a consideration of these points shows that Great Britain was fighting the rebellious colonists in America, and France, Spain and Holland, in Europe. She was also facing an armed neutrality that practically included the remainder of Europe. The National Debt had risen to what was, at that time, an appalling figure—the people of those days being imbued with the now an-



Mr. James White.
Chief Geographer of the Dominion.

tiquated idea that a debt was a thing that should be paid off—and as the Debt had risen, Britain's credit had steadily declined; in America, with the exception of New York, Charleston, and a few other ports, the whole mainland of the Thirteen Colonies was lost; West Florida, Bahamas, Minorca, Granada, St. Vincent and other West India islands had been captured, though these losses were partially offset by successes in India. Repeatedly, down to July, 1782, Shelburne had asserted that he would never concede independence to the colonists, but in that month he became convinced that the breach between the Colonies and the Mother-Country was too wide and too deep to be bridged by anything short of the concession of independence.

The Count de Vergennes, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had only gone to war to humiliate England, not for the sake of American independence, and was desirous of framing the peace on such conditions as would leave England, Spain and the United States in America to balance each other and so make France paramount. He proposed to confine the United States to the country between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, leaving to England the country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Having decided to negotiate a separate peace with the colonists, Shelburne sent Oswald as negotiator and undoubtedly selected him as being the person most likely by his simplicity and straightforwardness to convince the American negotiators of his good faith. After many difficulties and much negotiation, the American negotiators—who were neither simple nor straightforward—finally became convinced that Shelburne was acting in perfect good faith, and signed the preliminary Treaty of Peace, November 30th, 1782.

In the following January, the definite Treaty of Peace was signed at Versailles. The preamble of the Treaty reads as follows:—"And that all disputes which might arise in the future on the subject of boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries." Instead of preventing disputes this arrangement gave rise to disputes which on several occasions brought the two countries to the brink of war and were only ended by the Ashburton Treaty over a half century later. During the negotiations, the Americans first proposed the St. John River as the boundary, but, later, accepted the St. Croix River as being the western boundary of Nova Scotia which at that time included the present New Brunswick, and, therefore, the eastern boundary of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The United States negotiators first proposed the St. John as the boundary, but finally agreed to accept the line between "Nova Scotia" and Massachusetts Bay. The portion of the boundary, later in dispute, was defined as follows:—"From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the Saint Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-western-most head of the Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois, or Cataraquy." Reduced to its simplest form, the boundary followed the St. Croix River to its source and thence a due north line to the "northwest angle of Nova Scotia," the negotiators using the verbage of the boundaries of Nova Scotia as defined in the Commissions of Governors of Nova Scotia. In the later differences the crucial point round which the most acrimonious disputes raged was the position of this "northwest angle."

The first difference arose respecting the identity of the St. Croix, the United States claiming that it was a stream now known as the Magaquadavic, and Great Britain contending for the stream now known by that name, but then known as the Schoodic. Fortunately, the remains of buildings constructed in the time of Champlain, who gave the name it now bears, identified the western stream —the Schoodic—as the St. Croix of Champlain. In 1798, Commissioners appointed under the provisions of the Jay Treaty of 1794, decided that the eastern, and longer, branch was the "River truly intended under the name of the River St. Croix" and a monument marking the initial point of the due north line was planted at the source of this branch. The evidence given before the arbitrators contains some points of special interest which enable us to get a clearer and more correct judgment of the later disputes respecting the northwest angle. The American negotiators of the Treaty of 1783, Adams, Jay and Franklin, made statements respecting the maps used during the negotiations. They stated that a copy of Mitchell's map of 1755 "was before them and was frequently consulted for geographical information."

The next dispute arose respecting certain islands in the Bay of Fundy. The Treaty of 1783 awarded to the United States all islands within twenty leagues of their coasts except such "as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia." Differences arose respecting some of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay. Article IV of the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, provided for the settlement of the question of title by the appointment of three Commissioners. The original grant of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander included all the islands within six leagues of a line from St. Mary Bay to the entrance of the St. Croix. In 1817, the Commissioners awarded to Great Britain all the islands in dispute with the exception of Moose Island and two small adjacent islands. Though, strictly speaking, within the limits of the Alexander grant, Moose Island was conceded to the United States because it "lay within less than half a mile of the American shores" and was settled by citizens of the United States.

Article V of the Treaty of Ghent also provided for the determination of the boundary line from the monument at the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence. As already stated, the boundary line was defined as following a due north line from the source of the St. Croix, to the Highlands, "which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those that fall into the River

St. Lawrence," the point of intersection being called the "northwest angle of Nova Scotia," thence following the "Highlands" to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River, thence down stream to the 45th parallel and thence westward along the parallel to the St. Lawrence.

It is necessary here to retrace our steps and endeavour to ascertain the position of the so-called "northwest angle of Nova Scotia." In 1621, James I granted to Sir William Alexander the whole of what is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the portion of Quebec lying to the southeast of Quebec City, and south of the St. Lawrence. In 1763, subsequent to the proclamation erecting the Province of Quebec, a Commission as Governor of Nova Scotia was issued to Montague Wilmot. It defined the western and northern boundaries of Nova Scotia as following a due north line from the source of the St. Croix to the southern boundary of Quebec and thence following said southern boundary to the western extremity of the Bay des Chaleurs. The Proclamation of 1763, erecting the Province of Quebec, defined the southern boundary as following from the 45th parallel "along the highest lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the north coast of the Bay des Chaleurs." The Quebec Act of 1774 defined the southern boundary in practically the same terms, and when the negotiators of 1782 and 1783 inserted in the Treaty the words "northwest angle of Nova Scotia," they, undoubtedly, had in mind the point that had for nearly twenty years been shown on the maps and the point that the United States afterwards contended for.

It is extremely doubtful whether Great Britain could have raised a question respecting the identity of the "Highlands" had not Mr. James Sullivan, in 1802, addressed a letter to Mr. Madison, then United States Secretary of State, in which he stated that the water parting from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Chaudiére River was a vast morass and that, therefore, it would be impossible to define on the ground the line as described in the Treaty. Influenced by these representations, Mr. Madison instructed Rufus King, then Minister of the United States at London, to initiate negotiations for the appointment of a Commission to determine the boundary. Mr. Madison stated that as the "highlands had no definite existence," the Commissioners be authorized to substitute an arbitrary line for the highlands line of the Treaty.

The basis of this despatch was Sullivan's erroneous idea that the word "highlands" necesarily meant a mountainous tract of country whereas, from a geographical point of view, an absolute elevation above sea sufficient to constitute a water parting, fulfilled all the conditions, irrespective of its relative elevation as compared with the surrounding country. As Dr. Moore points out in his *International Arbitrations,* the letter of Mr. Sullivan and the instructions of Mr. Madison having been communicated to Congress and thus made a matter of public record, "conceded a point which it was never possible to regain."

In 1815, Commissioners were appointed under article V of the Treaty of Ghent, and in 1821 they reported to their respective Governments that they had been unable to arrive at an agreement. In the meantime, extensive surveys had been made in the disputed territory. A surprising discovery had been made, viz., that the line which had been surveyed in the preceding century and accepted as the 45th parallel, was, in places, over a mile to the northward of its true position. As a result, the two Rouse Point forts, which had cost over a million dollars, were on British territory. This was considered so important that it was, at first, kept a profound secret as a local uprising was feared. Under the provisions of Article V of the Treaty of Ghent, the failure of the Commissioners to render a decision necessitated a reference to "a friendly sovereign or state" as arbitrator. Before the Governments could agree on a reference, the authorities of New Brunswick and Maine were involved in controversy over their respective rights in the disputed area —New Brunswick lumbermen cutting timber and the

Maine Government endeavouring to exercise jurisdiction over the Aroostook and Madawaska settlements. Eventually an arrangement was arrived at that no exercise of jurisdiction by either party would prejudice the rights of the other. Despite this arrangement, friction between the local authorities threatened, at times, to embroil the two countries in war.

In 1828, a Convention was ratified at London, which provided for a reference to the King of the Netherlands. The British statement maintained that, as the St. John fell into the Bay of Fundy, it was not included among the rivers that fell into the Atlantic; that the word "highlands" meant high and elevated lands of a generally mountainous character and that the first point at which the due north line intersected country of this description was the northwest angle of Nova Scotia; that within the disputed area Great Britain held the Seigniory of Madawaska, granted in 1683, by the French Government and that Great Britain, as the successors in title to France, had continuously exercised jurisdiction in the disputed territory since the cession of Canada in 1763.

In 1831, the Arbitrator rendered his award, which awarded Great Britain approximately one-third, 4,100 square miles, of the disputed territory; sustained Great Britain's claim to the area at the head of the Connecticut River and to the strip between the 45th parallel and the "Old Line" except that the United States should be left in possession of the Rouse-point forts. Mr. Preble, United States Minister at the Hague, though without instructions, immediately protested the Award. The British Government signified its acceptance, but authorized its Minister at Washington to intimate privately that it would be willing to enter into negotiations for a line that would be mutually more acceptable. President Jackson, who was inclined to accept the Award, afterwards regretted that he had not done so.

Several propositions for a division of the territory were made by each of the Powers, but were rejected. In the meantime, disputes respecting jurisdiction caused both Governments great anxiety. Arrests were made by the authorities of New Brunswick and of Maine, and, finally, in 1838, what is known as the "Aroostook war" broke out. A Maine land agent sent to arrest British subjects who were cutting timber on the Aroostook, was arrested with his posse. Maine raised an armed force, erected fortifications and appropriated $800,000 for military defence. Congress authorized the President to call out the militia and appropriated $10,000,000. General Scott was despatched from Washington, as a mediator, and arranged a *modus vivendi* on the basis of occupation by New Brunswick of the Madawaska settlements and by Maine of the country south of the St. John.

In 1841, Mr. Webster became Secretary of State. He intimated to the British Minister that he was willing to attempt a settlement and, in the following year, Lord Ashburton was sent out with full powers to settle the boundary. Maine and Massachusetts sent Commissioners to Washington to represent their respective states, but their unyielding attitude forced Mr. Webster to abandon written communications, and hold personal conferences with Lord Ashburton. In a few days, he was in a position to communicate to the Maine and Massachusetts Commissioners, the terms that Lord Ashburton was prepared to concede. Under this agreement, later known as the Ashburton Treaty, Great Britain received 5,000 miles—5-12 of the disputed territory, and 900 square miles more than were awarded by the King of the Netherlands. She surrendered a small area of 36 square miles near the source of the Connecticut and the narrow strip along the northern boundary of New York. To compensate the two states affected, the Government of the United States agreed to pay them $300,000 in equal moieties.

When the Treaty came before the Senate for ratification, Mr. Webster produced the so-called "Red Line" map as proof that the United States was getting more than it was entitled to. In 1842, an American, named Sparks, had discovered among the archives of the French Department of Foreign Affairs, a letter from Franklin to the Count de Vergennes stating that he was returning his map after having marked the limits of the United States "with a strong red line." As there was no map attached to the letter, he made a search among the 60,000 maps in the archives and found one map of North America with a red line on it, apparently indicating the boundaries of the United States. He forwarded the map to Mr. Webster who instructed Mr. Everett to "forbear to press the search in England or elsewhere." As the map showed a line which more than favoured the British claim, it was produced by Webster to prove that the Treaty awarded to the United States more than she was entitled to and to thus induce the Maine Commisioners to consent to the ratification of the Treaty. Later, when the injunction of secrecy in the debates was removed, Webster was charged with sharp practice and with having over-reached Lord Ashburton. He replied that he did not think it a very urgent duty on his part to go to Lord Ashburton and say that a doubtful bit of evidence has been found in Paris which prejudiced the claim of the United States.

The best authorities are of the opinion that it is more than doubtful that the map bore any relation to the negotiations of 1782 and 1783, particularly as Franklin's letter does not contain any reference or note by the Record-Keeper respecting an accompanying map. Winsor, in his *Narrative and Critical History of America,* states that it is the same line as is shown on Palairet's map of 1759 with the note: "The Red Line . . shows another claim of the French"—evidently referring to a French claim respecting the boundary of Acadia.

In addition, it is inconceivable that a man of Franklin's great ability, one who knew that the northern boundary of Nova Scotia and the southern boundary of Quebec had been shown on the maps for 20 years exactly where the United States later on claimed it should be, could ever have drawn as the boundary, a line that in places was over 100 miles south of the line as shown on these maps; in addition, as already stated, they had before them a copy of the Mitchell map which distinctly shows the Western boundary of Nova Scotia, though it carries it through to the St. Lawrence.

But there was another "Red Line map." Fitzmaurice, in his *Life of the Earl of Shelburne* states that there is in the British Museum, a map from the private library of King George III, which shows by a broad red line, the boundary as claimed by the United States with a note "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald." Winsor says that the note is in the King's own hand and that: "If this map was not known to the British Government at the time of the mission of Lord Ashburton, there was a convenient ignorance enjoyed by the heads of the administration which was not shared by the under officers, for it was well known, as Lord Broughen acknowledged, in Lord Melbourne's time when it was removed from the British Museum to the Foreign Office, and persons and traditions are easily transmissible in such offices. Ashburton protested that he was kept in ignorance of it and Peel and Aberdeen professed no knowledge of it to Mr. Everett till after the Treaty was signed. When the Treaty was assailed in Parliament, the Ministry of Peel brought this map forward to offset the clamour against the Treaty.

There is no doubt that: (1) The map is in the British Museum and that, ignoring the geographical errors, it shows the line substantially in acordance with the claims of the United States: that there are notes at intervals on the line of "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald": that it came from the private library of King George III, but that it is not the copy used in the negotiations between Oswald and the Americans. As against the wording of the Treaty, however, Great Britain had the best of all claims, viz.: "effective occupation" and it is of interest to note that, though the King of the Netherlands in his Award, expressly disclaims basing it on occupation, the only reasonable explanation of his Award is to assume that he did base it on that principle.

In the area awarded to her by the Ashburton Treaty, France, and later, Great Britain, had experienced jurisdiction and administered justice. Eighty years prior to the cession of Canada, the French Government had granted the Seigniory of Madawaska and the territory was traversed by the highway from St. John to Quebec. To quote the late Lord Salisbury: "Whatever the primary origin of his rights, the national owner, like the individual owner, relies usually on effective control by himself or through his predecessor in title for a sufficient length of time." In the portion awarded to the United States, she likewise, had acquired a title by virtue of possession. That Lord Ashburton was able to make so favourable a settlement was due largely to the alarm of the United States Government, lest hostilities should be precipitated by a clash between the local authorities and, doubtless to a certain extent owing to Webster's anxiety lest the British should become aware of the existence of his "Red Line" map.

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Williams, H. H.
Wiltshire, H. Horace.
Williams, E.
Wilks, A. E.
Willard, G. W.
Wilson, Dr. W. J.
Wilson, Dr. H. G.
Wilson, Harold.
Wilson, S. Frank.
Winter, L. A.
Winnet, Dr. Fred.
Wise, Frank.
Wood, W. A. P.
Woodland, G. W. T.
Wreyford, Chas. D.
Wright, Alex. W.
Wright, E. F.
Wylie, N. A.

Yarker, G. W.
Yearsley, O. J. B.
Young, Prof. A. H.
Young, Chas. F.
Young, Theo. E.
Young, Henry T. S.
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